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ABSTRACT

The history of education in Japan from feudal to modern times is covered in this book. The Japanese educational system has played a crucial role in that country's development during the past century, and a study in this field provides an understanding of the close relationship between the schools, society, and culture. Four broad areas of interest are discussed: (1) the history of the country and changes in its traditions and values; (2) the development of education, the impact of influence from the western world, and gradual changes in structure and emphasis in the schools; (3) a look at education in contemporary Japan, its organization from kindergarten through university; (4) the problems facing the modern educational system, teacher and pupil unrest, and administrative reaction resulting in reforms and plans for the future. Text tables are included with curriculum outlines detailed. Charts demonstrate the structure of the educational system and the organization of the administrative system. Appendixes deal with laws and codes governing the educational system. (JD)

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EDUCATION IN

JAPAN

A Century of Modern Development

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First grader displays his artistry in the required course in calligraphy. (International Society for Educational Information, Tokyo, Inc.)

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EDUCATION IN JAPAN

A Century of Modern Development

by
Ronald S. Anderson
Professor Emeritus, University of Hawaii

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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FOREWORD

By any set of criteria, Japan is clearly one of the foremost nations in the world today. It is a dominant factor throughout Asia, a country of special importance to the United States in a variety of bilateral relationships, and a nation of major significance to the world at large through manifold international linkages.

The Japanese educational system has played a crucial role in the country's remarkable development of the past century. The evolution of that system provides a fascinating case study of the symbiotic relationship between school and society, of the influence of the outside world during different periods in history, of the stresses and strains in the continuing interaction between tradition and change in contemporary Japan, and of the deliberate efforts to build into the educational system a capability to deal with the increasingly interdependent world of the present and foreseeable future.

The subject of education in Japan is therefore a fundamental component of any comprehensive study of Japanese culture. But the study of Japanese education has another value of equal importance: it provides a rich fund of experience relevant in one way or another to a variety of educational issues, problems, and practices of common concern to the United States and many other societies. The present study thus holds the potential for helping us understand education, as well as the Japanese, better. It can contribute to new professional insights and problem solving through enriching perspectives and facilitating access to a broader base of knowledge and experience in policy development and educational practice. Examples would include the Japanese record of school achievement in mathematics and the emerging strong Japanese educational commitment to international understanding and multilateral cooperation, of which world leadership on behalf of the new U.N. University is the most recent manifestation.

The most widely used American study of education in Japan was commissioned and published by the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) 15 years ago. Entitled "Japan: Three Epochs of Modern Education," it was prepared by Ronald S. Anderson who joined the staff of the Office of Education temporarily at that time for the purpose of preparing the publication. That study has increasingly been overtaken by events in the dynamic development of Japanese education in recent years. It was clear that a substantial revision, if not a comprehensive new treatment, would be required. We naturally turned to Prof. Anderson as the logical person for the task, and this volume in its present form is the result.

As it stands, this study is the outcome of a lifetime of observation of and participation in Japan's educational system. The author was a teacher in Japanese government higher schools in the prewar years, 1929 to 1935. From 1946 to 1949 he was a civil education officer on a regional military government team in the occupation of Japan, working with teachers and schools at all levels in southern Japan. Since 1952 he has taught comparative education with a major emphasis on Japan, first at the University of Michigan and since 1960 at the University of Hawaii from which he retired in 1974.

The importance of education in Japan, the continuing clash of competing value systems and purposes, some fundamental policy issues in Japanese education, and the special qualifications of Dr. Anderson are among the matters aptly summarized in the comments that follow by Dr. John Whitney Hall, distinguished professor of history and Japanese studies at Yale University.

For its part, the Office of Education is pleased to make Dr. Anderson's up-to-date, comprehensive study conveniently available in this low-cost form to the many American educators and others interested in education in Japan. This volume is one of several USOE activities aimed at helping increase mutual understanding between the United States and Japan, and thus contributes directly to the objectives of CULCON, the special United States-Japan Joint Committee on Cultural and Educational Cooperation. It also represents an Office of Education contribution to the ethnic heritage theme of the American Bicentennial Celebration.

Robert Leestma
Associate Commissioner for
International Education

July 1974

PREFACE

In the last hundred years the Japanese people have caught the attention of the world by their remarkable emergence as a world power and by their creative contributions in the fields of business and science. Any attempt to explain Japan's exceptional success in national development must give a high degree of credit to the educational system which took on its modern guise just 100 years ago. When we observe the Japanese people today—energetic, purposeful, superbly schooled, and open to world currents—we naturally think of the system of education which is so much a part of their lives from kindergarten to university. And rightly so. Japan's educational system, like its industrial capacity, is something of a contemporary world phenomenon.

We tend to think of Japan's modern educational institutions as being derived primarily from Western models. And because of this we are apt to assume that the strength of these institutions, and consequently Japan's success as a nation, was dependent in large measure on the fact of their Western derivation. Yet while many technical and organizational features of the contemporary Japanese system of education were adopted from the United States, France, or Germany, the demand for good education was something that came from the Japanese themselves. The Japanese emphasis on schooling and self-improvement, the Japanese belief in learning as a means of personal and social development, had revealed itself long before Western educators arrived in Japan. A hundred years ago the Japanese people were as literate as those of England and as dedicated to popular education as most Europeans. The system of schooling which evolved in the years following the first Education Ordinance of 1872 absorbed a great deal from Western examples, but the high value which the Japanese place on education today did not have to be learned.

If education provided one of the secrets of Japan's success in national development, it also served as a sensitive indicator of the relationship between Japan and the rest of the world. For a nation's educational policy is intimately related to the fundamental values and the long range aspirations of its people. In the realm of educational policy, therefore, we can see reflected quite clearly the successive changes in Japan's national mood and the intellectual controversies which arose as a consequence of periodic clashes between Japan's inherited value system and those of Western nations. A study of the history of education in Japan offers unusually clear insight into the way in which Japanese leaders thought of themselves, their country, and the world about them. It began, as Prof. Anderson points out, with an early era of willing tutelage under Western advisers. But it quickly turned to a mood of self-confidence and then to nationalist self-assertion. Then again, in the aftermath of military defeat, the Japanese showed an almost overwillingness to accept outside direction. Today, having fully recovered economically and psychologically from the disastrous war in the Pacific, the Nation faces the problem of regaining a sense of national identity after over two decades of following the American lead.

Prof. Anderson has been a longtime observer of the Japanese educational system and as a consequence is able to point up with particular clarity the choices which lie before Japan's present-day educational policymakers. First as a teacher in Japanese higher schools in prewar Japan, then as a civil education officer during the occupation, he learned at firsthand the way in which Japanese schools were run and how Japanese teachers and students thought about themselves and each other. The occupation experience has been of central importance to Prof. Anderson's analysis, for at no other time were the differing value systems represented by Japanese and American philosophies of education more clearly brought into juxtaposition. It also highlighted the whole question of the staying power of American "democratic" policies in a country whose tradition has been essentially elitist.

It is significant that although the occupation officially ended in 1952, from a psychological point of view the effects of American educational tutelage have lasted until quite recently. The Japanese are only now beginning to rethink their educational policy. And since this effort coincides with a deep questioning of Japan's world role, education is again at the center of national controversy. Specifically, the question is one of whether retention of the open educational system inherited from the occupation is desirable or whether a return to a more closely regulated system is necessary; of whether Japan's teachers should continue to emphasize internationalism and universal values or return to a greater emphasis on Japanese values and Japan's distinctive history.

In this new study Prof. Anderson focuses upon the contemporary issues in Japanese education seen in the perspective of the last 100 years of educational development. As one who has had the opportunity of direct observation, he is able to describe in intimate detail the present method of schooling at each major level. Above all, however, he is able to assess the attitudes of teachers and students and the fundamental values resulting from the present system. The efficiency of the Japanese system is undisputed. Few other nations can boast comparable statistics of school attendance, literacy, and percentage of youth attending institutions of higher learning. But the current issues which divide Japanese educators are matters of more basic concern. They involve such issues as the degree of state control over content, the degree of freedom in curriculum choice and textbook selection, and the balance between school authority and student power. As Prof. Anderson points out, the resolution of these issues will be intimately related to the look of Japan's new national policy in the coming years. It will also determine in large degree the kind of Japanese who will be our neighbors a generation from now.

John Whitney Hall
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In a government proclamation accompanying the Education Ordinance of 1872 that began the first century of the modernization of Japan's schools, the new government stoutly declared that "there shall in the future, be no community with an illiterate family nor a family with an illiterate person." This ambitious commitment to universal education, the first such in Asia, was almost totally fulfilled before the century of development was half over. But the path of development has not been smooth. Despite steady expansion of the educational system, the aims and methods of education are still in contention. At the end of the first modern century, Japan's schools stand at a crossroads. Shall they be instruments of state policy, instruments for the development of the individual, or both? This study focuses on the various answers being given and how they evolved. It aims to take a reading on Japan's remarkable educational achievements and how they were attained.

The present work owes much to many friends and colleagues, both in Japan and the United States. Among them, special thanks go to the following: emeritus professor Iwao Utsunomiya and president emeritus Hiroshi Suekawa both of Ritsumeikan University; Hirosumi Yasuhara, professor of English, Japan Women's University; Miss Kazu Omoto of the English *Mainichi Daily News*, Osaka; Mr. Yoshiro Egami, program specialist, Japanese National Commission for UNESCO; Mr. Hiroshi Kimura, educational researcher, Chiba Prefecture school system; and Mr. Shigenari Futagami, formerly on the staff of Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK) (Japanese Broadcasting Corp.) educational television.

Useful advice and information during the author's field trip to Japan were provided by Dr. Delmer Brown, professor of history, University of California, Berkeley, then director of the California Education Abroad Program at International Christian University (ICU); Dean Dashiro Hidaka, emeritus dean, Graduate School of Education, ICU; Dr. Ben C. Duke, professor of comparative education, ICU; and Dr. Masako Shoji, professor, Faculty of Education, Hiroshima University. Students I taught at the East-West Center in Hawaii, who were participants in the Teacher Interchange Program at the University of Hawaii, arranged school visitations and provided helpful materials. They included teachers Keiichi Tanahashi, Hakodate Central High School; Eichi Tanaka, Niigata School system;

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Ronald S. Anderson

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword ... iii
Preface
  by John Whitney Hall ... v
Acknowledgments ... ix

INTRODUCTION: JAPAN—THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

Page

  The Land and People ... 3
  Traditions and Values ... 5
  Introduction of a Democratic Value System: 1945–52 ... 7
  Contemporary Values ... 9

PART I: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Chapter *Page*

1. The Evolution of Education From Feudal To Modern Times ... 15
  Feudal Schools and Early Modernization ... 15
  The American School as an Educational Model ... 20
  The Shift to Nationalistic Education ... 26
  An Interlude of American Progressivism in the Twenties ... 32
  Thought Control and Increased Nationalism Through World War II ... 33
  Summary ... 36
2. The Educational System of Pre-World War II Japan ... 39
  Kindergartens ... 39
  Elementary Schools ... 42
  Youth Schools ... 45
  Secondary Schools ... 46
  Higher Education ... 49
  Summary ... 58

Chapter *Page*

3. Reforms of the Occupation Period 61
    Phase I: Reform by Directive: September 1945–March 1946 61
    Phase II: Reform by Guidance and Assistance: March 1946–April 1952 64
    Summary 85
4. Developments After Restoration of Independence 89
    The Demand for Expanding the Educational System 89
    Political Struggles 90
    The Need for Improved Scientific and Technological Education 97
    Summary: The Situation in the Late 1960's 99

PART II: EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

Chapter *Page*

1. Overview 105
    Structure of the Educational System 105
    The School Calendar 107
2. Kindergarten and Elementary Schools 109
    Kindergarten Education 109
    Elementary Education 111
    Summary 121
3. Junior High Schools 125
    The Student and the Classroom 125
    The Curriculum 127
    Summary 142
4. Senior High Schools 147
    Overview 147
    Full-Time Schools 154
    Part-Time Schools 156
    The Student 157
    Admission Standards 163
    The Curriculum 163
    Plans for the Seventies 175
    Summary 177

Chapter *Page*

5. Higher Education 181
    Universities 181
    University Administration 184
    The Entrance Exam 187
    The Student 190
    Financing 195
    The Curriculum 197
    Science and Technology 200
    Graduate Education 202
    Private Universities 206
    Tsukuba Research and Education Newtown 211
    Libraries 213
    Junior Colleges 216
    Summary 218

PART III: MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS

Chapter *Page*

1. Teacher Status, Power, and Preparation 225
    Teacher Status 225
    Teacher Power: The Japan Teachers Union 237
    Teacher Preparation 254
    Summary 257
2. Administration, Supervision, and Finance 261
    Administration: The Ministry of Education 261
    Supervision 268
    Finance 275
    Summary 281
3. Instructional Media and Special Programs 285
    Textbooks 285
    Instructional Technology 290
    Social Education 302
    Summary 311
4. Student Power 315
    Development of the Zengakuren 315
    Reactions to Student Protest 320
    Summary 324

Chapter *Page*

5. The Balance Sheet 327
    The OECD "Confrontation Meeting": 1970 328
    An Appraisal 334
    Summary 341
    Future Prospects 342

APPENDIXES

Page

A. The Fundamental Law of Education: 1947 349
B. Excerpts from the School Education Law: 1947 353
C. Excerpts concerning technical colleges and junior colleges from the supplementary provisions to the School Education Law: 1961 and 1964, respectively 363
D. Selected projections to 1980 by the Central Council for Education: 1971 365
E. Excerpts concerning the contents of morals education from the Junior High School Course of Studies: 1969 367
F. Condensation of "The Image of an Ideal Japanese": 1966 371
G. Statistics on the seven former imperial universities: 1967 376
H. "A Code of Ethics for Teachers": 1952 379
I. Selected English-language references 383

Page

INDEX 393

Text Tables *Page*

1. Number of public and private institutions, teachers, and students by level or type: 1972–73 107
2. Prescribed subjects and class hours per week for elementary schools: 1971–72 114
3. Junior high school curriculum: 1972–73 129
4. Sample senior high school general program, college preparatory course: 1973–74 150
5. Sample senior high school general program, terminal course: 1973–74 151
6. Sample senior high school vocational program, industrial arts (mechanical specialty): 1973–74 152
7. Sample senior high school vocational program, business: 1973–74 153
8. Required subjects for all students during the 3 years of senior high school: 1973–74 164
9. Monthly amounts of Japan Scholarship Foundation student loans, by category of loans and level or type of school: 1973 196
10. Number of students by faculty in each type of university and in all universities; and percentage each represents of the total: 1972–73 198
11. Standard curriculum for general education subjects in a technical college: 1972 202
12. Standard curriculum for technical subjects, mechanical engineering course, in a technical college: 1972 203
13. Major allowances of public school teachers: 1973–74 231

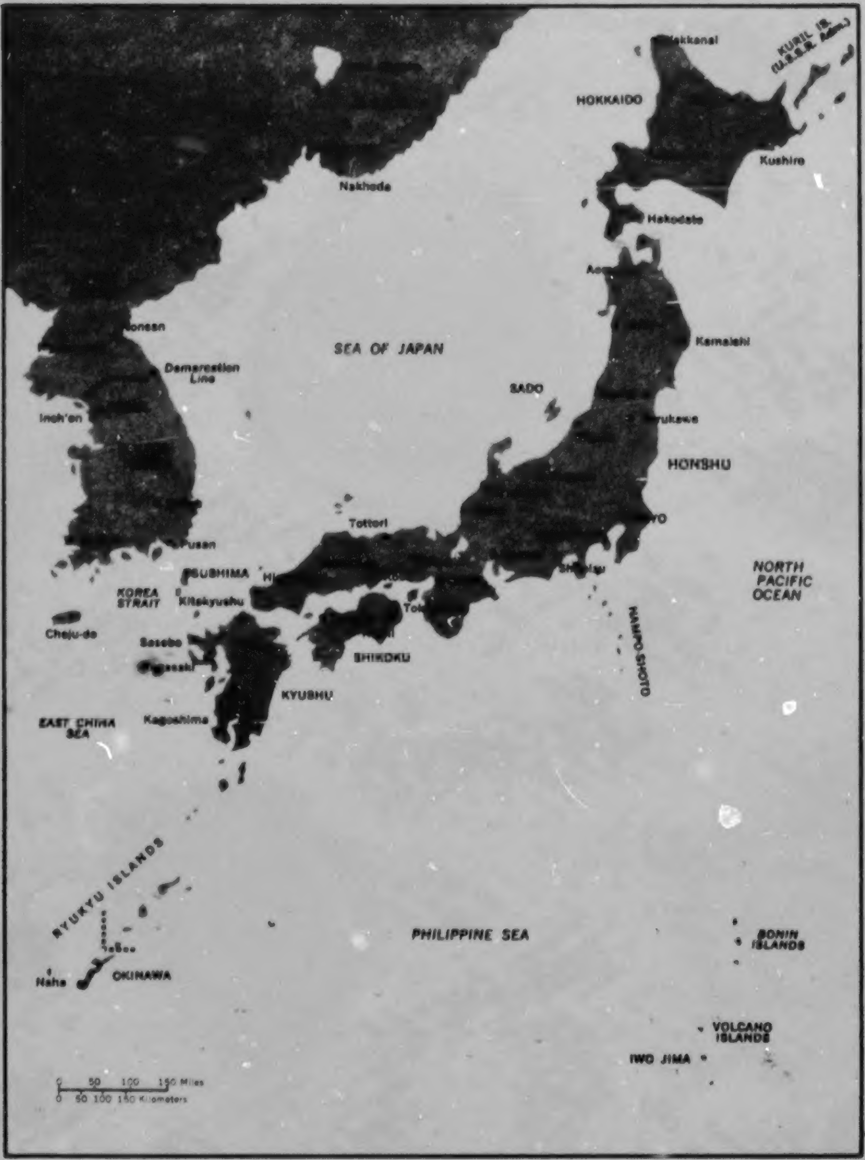
Charts *Page*

1. Multiple-track Japanese school system: Pre-World War II 41
2. Structure of the educational system of Japan: 1972 106
3. Sources of pressure on local schools in Japan 251
4. Organization of the Ministry of Education: May 1972 264
5. Organization for school supervision: 1971 269
6. Percentage distribution of public expenditures for education, by source: 1969–70 277
7. Outline of the educational finance system: 1967 280

Map of Japan: 1973 2

INTRODUCTION: JAPAN—THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

MAP OF JAPAN: 1973



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JAPAN— THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

THE LAND AND PEOPLE

Japan is a country of many people and little land. About 110 million Japanese are crowded into a country slightly smaller than the State of California—which contains about 21 million people. The island nation has one of the highest population densities in the world, an average of 756 people per square mile.

Furthermore, a mountainous backbone stretching over the length of Japan leaves only 16 percent of the land flat enough for cultivation and habitation. The man to arable land ratio is about 4,200 persons per square mile; and thus most Japanese live and work in the cities. Recently, waves of human migration from rural Japan to the cities have wedged still more people into already congested urban enclaves. When an eminent Japanese university president was asked to name Japan's severest problem, he replied emphatically, "housing." [1] The standard apartment for a family of three in a large city is described as "2DK," meaning two small bedrooms and a dining kitchen area, in which the total living space for the family is about 297 square feet.

The Japanese occupy an archipelago of four main islands (Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Hokkaido) and more than 3,000 small islands, some widely separated from each other. The largest and most populated island, Honshu, is the center of the nation's economic and cultural development. Tokyo lies roughly midway along its eastern coast. Kyushu, off the southern tip of Honshu, is closest to the mainland of China, and thus received the earliest Chinese cultural influences. (Civilization flowed east and north to the other islands.) While predominantly agricultural, Kyushu has a heavy concentration of industry in the north, clustered mainly about the iron and steel mills of Kita Kyushu. Shikoku, east of Kyushu and across the Inland Sea from Southern Honshu, is the least developed economically of the four major islands. Hokkaido in the distant north is the only area with some uncultivated land and a relatively sparse population. It is dotted with forests, dairy farms, and extensive agriculture (rather than the customary intensive agriculture of the other islands).

Japan thus stretches in an arc, running from northeast to southwest, some 1,500 miles along the eastern coast of Asia, and with approximately the same climate as the Atlantic Coast of the United States. Hokkaido and northeastern Honshu have heavy snows and long, cold winters but generally pleasant summers. Adequate rainfall, varying from a low of 20 inches in eastern Hokkaido to a high of more than 80 inches in the south, gives rise to lush greenery nearly everywhere.

Life for the Japanese has not been easy, because their country is subject to various natural calamities. The islands are of volcanic origin, tops of a subterranean mountain range projecting above the ocean surface. That the mountain formation is still in evolution is demonstrated by frequent destructive earthquakes and violent volcanic eruptions. Japan is a link in the Pacific "ring of fire" that exposes many of the lands bordering the Pacific Ocean to earthquakes and volcanoes. Other natural calamities also plague Japan—tidal waves, typhoons, floods, and great fires fanned by high winds. Every year, in late summer and early fall, the Japanese living in the southern half of the country await typhoons that roar in from the tropics with gales, torrential rains, and floods. They leave in their wake loss of life and damage to the traditional wooden houses and schools as well as to transportation and crops. The Japanese have learned to live on the edge of disaster, but with modern technology they are now better able to cope with and control the forces of nature. Scientific warning systems alert communities to pending earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tidal waves, and typhoons. Modern architecture can now produce 40- and 50-story skyscrapers that seem to defy the inevitable earthquakes.

Another characteristic of Japan is its shortage of the natural resources necessary for a great industrial nation. Japan is the world's greatest shipbuilder, second largest auto maker, and third largest steel producer; yet the small country mines only one-tenth of the iron ore and barely enough coal (and that of poor grade) to supply its great steel mills. Having practically no petroleum, Japan must import huge quantities. Only water power, produced by harnessing the rainfall as it rushes down from the mountains, is adequate. Together with thermal power, water power affords Japan its major source of energy—electricity. Atomic energy also has increasingly become a significant source of electricity and promises to be a great boon in the future.

In spite of the paucity of natural resources, Japan has recovered completely from a devastating war and has moved swiftly to become, after the United States and the U.S.S.R., the world's third largest industrial power. The economic growth of the country in some recent years has been the highest the world has ever seen—at a phenomenal rate of 10 percent or more per year.

What accounts for this miracle of modernization and industrialization in a country with so little land and so few resources? The key to Japan's success is its people—their values, energy, talents, tenacity, and ambition.

TRADITIONS AND VALUES

A recent UNESCO study maintains that the unique characteristics of the Japanese are (1) the strength of their traditions, and (2) their receptiveness to the influences of foreign achievements and their selective adoption of the best foreign inventions.[3] Instead of casting aside traditional values during the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the oligarchy of dedicated young leaders who dismantled feudalism and set about modernizing the country chose to preserve certain traditions as the foundations upon which they would build modern Japan. These included primarily Shintoism and some aspects of Confucianism and Buddhism.

The oldest tradition, upon which the entire Japanese value system was based, was respect for and even worship of the Emperor. During the early centuries of Japanese history, the Shinto cult in which the Imperial Family traced its ancestry to the Sun Goddess became the people's sustaining faith. Although later subordinated to imported Buddhism and Confucianism, Shintoism was perpetuated in Ise and Izumo, the great shrines of the Imperial Family, until the Meiji modernizers established it as a quasi-state religion to unify the people and restored the Emperor as the symbol of national unity and the object of loyalty for the Japanese. The inherited value of Shinto emperor worship was in this way revived and elevated to a position of eminence. All Japanese automatically became Shintoists in the new state.

Another enduring tradition was the hierarchical system of social relations based on feudalism and reinforced by Neo-Confucianism, which had been the official ideology of the premodern period, the Tokugawa (1604–1868). Confucianism prescribed a pattern of ethical conduct between groups of people within a fixed hierarchy. Four of the five Confucian relationships—those between the ruler and subject, husband and wife, father and son, and elder brother and younger brother—were vertical, since they required loyalty and obedience from the inferior toward the superior, and benevolence and protection from the superior to the inferior. Only the fifth relationship, that between friend and friend, was horizontal, necessitating reciprocal duties. The emphasis in all five was on duty rather than rights. Thus Confucian ideals included filial piety, loyalty to the state, submission to authority, and maintenance of social order.

These Confucian ideals became established values during the Tokugawa period of two and a half centuries, when the country was a closed feudal society isolated from the outside world. The individual's behavior was strictly prescribed by law and custom. Everyone was taught to conform and to live in harmony with others, especially with those in the ruling class.

(Only the Samurai, the warriors, had the right to retaliate with force if they were displeased, but their primary duty was complete loyalty to their lord.) Each child was taught to respect differences in class, rank, age, and sex, and to show deference to superiors by bowing and special speech forms. Above all, the child had to express filial love for parents and give lifelong honor to his teachers. The authoritarian spirit of the feudal regime left a permanent impress on the Nation, and its values became useful in the modernization process.

A third tradition was respect for learning, another basic Confucian contribution to Japanese culture instilled in generations of Japanese youth. In traditional Japan, study was an absolute duty of man. It was a religious mandate, a means of attaining virtue and repaying Emperor and parents. It was also a social duty, a means of promoting a harmonious and stable society. It was, furthermore, an individual's duty to his superior, a means of preparing for service in the feudal government or schools. And it was a way to gain self-respect and self-fulfillment.

Over the centuries a Japanese value system developed from the various traditions—Confucian, Shintoist, Buddhist, and feudal—which, though greatly modified, retains great influence in Japan today. From his incisive study of religion during the Tokugawa period, Robert Bellah has suggested that Japan's traditional value system included the following:

> 1. Value is realized in groups which are thought of as natural entities. The community is the locus of value.
> 2. These groups are . . . endowed with a sacred quality.
> 3. There is a divine human continuity in which the symbolic heads of groups have an especially important place, being especially endowed with a sacred quality. One of their functions is to relate the group to the divine ancestors and protective deities . . . .
> 4. . . . The individual is obligated to work [and study] in order to repay in small measure the blessings he has received [from his gods and his parents] and to sacrifice himself for the group if necessary.
> 5. . . . Ethics consist mainly in acting as one should in one's group—there is no universal ethic.
> 6. In spite of how completely the individual is merged in group life there is one place where he can be relatively independent: the realm of personal expressiveness, including art, mysticism, recreation, skill . . . .[8]

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the ruling oligarchy harnessed traditional values to provide the communal stability under the Emperor system that proved so important in the modernization process. These values conditioned the people to become the pliant work force necessary in a new economy. The solidarity of group association and the dominance of group goals over individual needs fostered loyalty to the Emperor and state as Japan forged into the ranks of the great powers. And the Shinto belief in the divinity of the land, of the Emperor, of the people (as children of the Emperor), and of the mission to extend Japan's power abroad gave the value system a religious sanction perhaps stronger than in any other country.

There were, however, counter movements to the Confucian orientation of early modern Japan. Soon after the Meiji Restoration a small group of Western scholars argued that it was not enough to adopt the science of the West. It was also necessary, if Japan were to become truly modern, to adopt the ideas and values underlying Western science. A movement was initiated to seek women's equality, democratic family life, and reform in morals and human relations. Yukichi Fukuzawa, the most eloquent spokesman of Japan's "Enlightenment," claimed: "The Confucian civilization of the East seems to me to lack two things possessed by Western civilization: science in the material sphere, and a sense of 'independence' in the spiritual sphere."[4] As one of the pro-Western scholars, he devoted his life to freeing the Japanese from their subservience to the Confucian social hierarchy and value system. He promoted the acceptance of Western ethics in personal and political life. His great influence is found in the free and individualistic philosophy of the Education Code of 1872. He was not able, however, to prevent the government from turning back to the canons of Confucian thought, as it did in the Imperial Rescript of 1890, which perpetuated conservative values for the succeeding half century.

Another interlude of relative liberalism came after World War I, when the democratic idealism of President Woodrow Wilson had an important impact on Japanese intellectuals and, especially, students. The pacifism, self-determination, and openness of Wilson's approach set much of the tone for the early student movement. An entirely different heritage of the war years, and one that in the long run had an even greater influence on the student movements and on radical intellectuals in general, was the Leninist ideology of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. But again nationalism and militarism became dominant in the early 1930's, largely as a result of failing economic conditions at home and abroad.

Efforts to accelerate the modernization process required a large force of technicians to man the government and the economy. The Meiji leaders, having to reach lower and lower into the class structure to meet manpower needs, designed and developed a modern school system to select and train the able from every rung of society. A bright youth who was able to get a higher education automatically qualified for a high-status leadership position, no matter what his origins were. Consequently, considerable social mobility developed, and education functioned as a distributor of social status.

INTRODUCTION OF A DEMOCRATIC VALUE SYSTEM: 1945–52

With the defeat of Japan in World War II, substantial reforms were introduced into society to insure that the country would never again become a military threat and to liberate the individual from authoritarian restraints. A democratic value system was reintroduced into Japan, and was embraced by many teachers, students, intellectuals, workers, old liberals, and others who stood to gain new freedoms guaranteed by the Allied occupation. Democratic objectives have not always been understood, because the ideals of freedom and human rights conflict with many of the group values that had been ingrained in the traditional society.

Today, however, democratic processes are clearly evident, especially in the widespread participation of the people in social and political life. Most people have consciously rejected the Confucian tradition, but its vestiges remain in everyday life. For example, a feature of relationships in many institutions (such as gangs, political parties, large corporations, and university faculties) is the *oyabun-kobun* (parent-child) relationship. The "parent" — a boss, union leader, or professor — in return for loyalty from his "child" must protect him and promote his best interests throughout life, even to arranging his marriage and assuring his livelihood. This loyalty of the individual to his patron reinforces his loyalty to the group to which both belong. Group loyalty is still the most respected characteristic of a person. It requires a willingness to cooperate with the other members and to support the interests of the group in all external relations.

In the new Japan, socioeconomic life, according to Dr. Chie Nakane, is still organized in a vertical pattern, consisting of a series of "tubes" or ladders which a person can ascend with great mobility.[5] There is little horizontal relationship between individuals even in the same profession, but within the "tube" of an institution or enterprise a person can rise as far as his abilities and competence permit him, as long as he maintains successful personal ties with a "parent" in the vertical channel. To achieve high status, he must, of course, be competent as well as loyal to the superior and the group, but loyalty generally takes precedence.[6]

The educational system constitutes the major means of entering and moving up through the vertical society. The higher one's formal education, the higher the point of entry into the system and the more prestigious the eventual status. Ambitious parents thus want their children admitted to a distinguished university to guarantee their future. In order to succeed in entrance examinations of the preferred instituton they must begin preparing their children in elementary school or earlier. "Enthusiasm for education," says Professor Sumiya, "focuses on the end of the line."[7] Parents usually are not concerned with the kind of personality a school turns out, only with its success in cramming enough information into the child to get him over the hurdle of the next entrance examination. The whole education process is thus dominated by the pressure of entrance examinations. Primary emphasis is placed on achieving success in the selection process. rather than on developing individual capacities. Creative learning is a secondary consideration.

CONTEMPORARY VALUES

In the present affluent, mass-consumption Japan there is no universally accepted, stable value system. Values are constantly being modified by strong infusions of Western influences, both democratic and Marxist. School textbooks often emphasize the precedence of democratic values of universalism over particularism, equality over hierarchy, rationalism over traditionalism, individualism over groupism. Often in practice, however, these values are distorted and misinterpreted, particularly by the young: often the individualistic and humane elements in democracy became translated into egoistic and materialistic goals; and collectivist and revolutionary theories are found attractive.

"A Study of the Japanese National Character," a survey of Japanese nationals over 20 years of age made every 5 years since 1953 by a group of distinguished social scientists, specifically seeks to measure the comparative strengths of traditional and modern influences on the Japanese national character.[8] The results of the survey reported in 1970 indicated that during a 15-year period (1953-68) the Japanese gradually shifted from traditional toward nontraditional views of life, religion, family, and society. There was a decided change from "moral-ethical goals" ("Serve society without thought of self") to "self-contented goals" ("Don't think about money or fame; just live a life that suits your own tastes"). Further, this move towards a self-centered approach occurred in almost half the population, among the old as well as the young.[9] Less than one-third reported that they believed in a religion, and, of these, 76 percent professed Buddhism, 9 percent Shintoism, and 3 percent Christianity. Of these, only one-third—approximately 10 percent of the total sample — were active in their faith.[10]

On the other hand, in a choice of important virtues, the traditional ethical values of "filial piety" and "the obligation of repaying moral indebtedness" were still preferred over the democratic values of "respecting individual rights" and "respecting freedom." Filial piety is still clearly the most cherished value of adults, with 61 percent rating it most important, while only 46 percent regarded freedom as most important. In the education of elementary school children, 68 percent of parents polled considered teaching the value of discipline to be of foremost importance, while only 20 percent held teaching of freedom to be paramount.[11]

The same study also shows that an overwhelming majority, 80 percent, including people of all ages, still prefer the traditional paternalistic supervisor in work relations (the *oyabun-kobun* relationship). But in politics, only 30 percent were willing to leave decisions to the leaders, while 51 percent said: "No, it is better to have the people discuss things among themselves." Finally, there was an evident growth of self-esteem over the period. In 1968, 47 percent thought the Japanese were superior to Westerners. In 1953 only 20 percent had considered the Japanese superior.

This increase was probably due to Japan's remarkable recovery and emergence into world prominence.[12]

Another study, directed by an economist, Takemi Yasunaga, identified nine characteristics of contemporary social life that are likely to endure. They include (1) the desire for an unburdened life, (2) the drive for an affluent material life, (3) an aggressive search for pleasure, (4) desire for stability, (5) "my homeism"—i.e., the desire for a happy home life,[13] (6) an increased role played by women in society, (7) an emphasis on education, (8) a search for convenience, and (9) increased individualism.[14]

The movement away from traditional values is slow, and, undoubtedly, some will survive. Yet the massive democratization of the postwar period has been influential. Young people who have grown up in recent years are generally more liberal than the older generations. The younger the age group, the stronger their support of individual rights and freedom. Significantly, the lower the educational level, the higher the tendency towards traditionalism. Also many Japanese, particularly the young, are struggling with problems of identity and individualization. No longer are they satisfied with the old family system and other traditional norms of group identification. They desire independence and comfort, and demand them now. The status symbols are the "3 C's—a car, cooler (air conditioner), and color television." But at the same time they are in conflict over the traditional virtues. Filial piety is still highly regarded though some urbanized nuclear families (consisting of husband, wife, and children only) may neglect it. They universally prefer the old paternalism in their work, but they eschew paternalism in politics. The new value system is thus still evolving, and will inevitably be the result of a fusion of ancient tradition and adaptation of it to ideas from the West.

In times of conflict and confusion, Westerners often turn to the home and church for support. In Japan formal religion is of little comfort, and families generally suffer from a greater generation gap than in the United States. For the Japanese public, the school then becomes the socializing force. Parents as well as government bureaucrats call for teaching the traditional values of loyalty and filial piety and obedience. A formal "morals" course is established, but acceptance is not universal.

Schools in Japan are thus called upon to do a multiplicity of tasks. They are expected to develop and distribute the Nation's manpower resources, as well as to build character in their students. Clearly, they play a critical role in society.

NOTES

[1] Author's interview with Dr. Hiroshi Suekawa, president of Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Apr. 17, 1968.

[2] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Japan, Its Land, People, and Culture* (Tokyo, the Ministry of Education, 1958), p. 3.

[3] Robert Bellah, "Values and Social Change in Modern Japan," *Asian Cultural Studies* (Tokyo International Christian University), vol. 3 (October 1962), pp. 32–33.

[4] As quoted in Carmen Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment, A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, Mass., Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 10.

[5] Chie Nakane, *Univalent Society—An Analysis of Japanese Social Organization* (Honolulu, Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Center, 1964), p. 89. Mimeo. This study is now published under the title *Japanese Society* (Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1970).

[6] See Ezra Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class* (Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1967), ch. 7 for an excellent treatment of Japan's basic values.

[7] Mikio Sumiya, "The Functions and Social Structure of Education: Schools and Japanese Society," *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. 5, nos. 2–3 (December 1967), p. 128.

[8] Tatsuzo Suzuki, "A Study of the Japanese National Character, the Fourth Nation-Wide Survey," *Annals of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics*, Supp. VI (1970) (reprint in English), pp. 6–41.

[9] Ibid., p. 12.

[10] Ibid., p. 13.

[11] Ibid., p. 15.

[12] Ibid., pp. 8–9.

[13] "My homeism" is an English-like expression adopted into the Japanese language, denoting the ideal existence—a small, nuclear family, independent of parents and parents-in-law, affording personal comfort and security. It is equivalent to "soft living."

[14] Takemi Yasunaga, *Urban Life 20 Years From Now* (Tokyo, Japan, Research Center, 1968), as quoted in the *Japan Times*, Aug. 12, 1968.

PART I: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 1
THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION FROM FEUDAL TO MODERN TIMES

A century ago Japan was an underdeveloped, but by no means an undeveloped, country. Its remarkable unity of purpose and people provided strong impetus for building a modern world power. The population was ethnically homogeneous. Culturally, with a common language, literature, value system, and historical traditions, Japan possessed many requisites of nationhood. Its peculiar brand of centralized feudalism and more than two centuries of isolation had permitted the rise of embryonic institutions of government, trade, and education that were important preconditions to modernization.

FEUDAL SCHOOLS AND EARLY MODERNIZATION

Recent studies of Tokugawa society (1604-1868) have revealed the existence of thousands of schools and a sophisticated philosophy of education in that period.[1] As might be expected in a feudal class-society, there were separate educational tracks for Samurai and commoners.[2] Four major types of schools emerged, all teaching a Confucian curriculum: (1) The official leadership schools headed by the *Shoheiko,* the Confucian college established in 1630 in Edo (then the capital city) for the Shogun's relatives and retainers, and including 277 clan schools (*hanko*) modeled after the *Shoheiko* in most of the feudal domains; (2) some 400 "local schools" (*gogaku*) scattered in the larger towns of the domains, often as branches of the clan schools; (3) private academies (*juku*), numbering by the time of the Restoration approximately 1,500 and organized by a distinguished scholar for instructing a few able disciples, both Samurai and commoners; and (4) writing schools (*terakoya*) — some 11,000 small, private elementary schools for the practical training of children of commoners, mostly the wealthier farmers and merchants.[3]

Clan Schools

By the early 18th century each feudal fief had its Confucian scholar (*jusha*) who served as administrator to the clan government, advisor to the *daimyo* (feudal lords), and teacher of the young Samurai in the clan (*hanko*) schools. These elite schools were well-planned. Their curriculum was standardized to include Confucian classics for moral training, the martial arts, Japanese and Chinese history, calligraphy, composition, and etiquette. Toward the end of the feudal regime Western studies, such as medicine, foreign language (particularly English and Dutch), and military science were added. The main purpose of the clan schools was to develop character in children of the elite who were destined to be leaders of Japan's future.

The imperialism of the West in the 19th century revealed to China and Japan the inadequacy of the Confucian classics in training their leaders to cope with foreign military and economic power. Some Samurai saw that Japan's only chance for survival lay in mastering the military science and industrial techniques of the West. They still hoped, however, to retain Confucian learning for moral purposes, merging the two under the slogan "Western science, Oriental morality." Some lesser Samurai, products of the new Western learning, finally received Government support toward the end of the Tokugawa regime and carried out reforms in their fiefdoms. In 1868 these Samurai dismantled the feudal government that had nurtured them.

Local Schools

Just as the clan schools were modeled after the Confucian college in Edo, so the local schools (*gogaku*) were modeled after the main clan schools in the castle towns of the fiefdoms. Some were established by enlightened *daimyo* (feudal lords) as branches of the clan school to serve the youth of Samurai officials stationed in the outlying areas. Others were initiated by a high-ranking Samurai retainer (*karo*) or a wealthy commoner, or both. From the point of view of the local inhabitants, they existed to provide education for their children; from the point of view of the *daimyo* leadership, they maintained moral education and served as a vehicle for thought control to make the villagers obedient even when economic conditions were harsh.

Local schools that were branches of the clan school received a rice allotment as support from the *daimyo* and were subject to meticulous official supervision. Even those schools that were financially independent were under the administrative control of the clan and were required to conform to the orthodox Confucian philosophy of the central clan school. They received the services, both academic and supervisory, of the clan's Confucian scholar when he was dispatched several times a month to lecture in them. The major advantages enjoyed by the local schools, however, were exemption from taxation and the granting of some special privileges to their teachers by the *daimyo* government.

Toward the end of the Tokugawa period the education of higher ranking commoners became a major concern of the National Government, and the far-sighted *daimyo* saw to it that the sons of village headmen and wealthy farmers — those destined for local leadership — were admitted to study in the local schools along with the sons of Samurai. Consequently, these semiofficial schools, open to commoners as well as Samurai, served as a selective device based on merit, and so gave some opportunity for social mobility.

Private Academies

Like the traditional *guru* of India, the master of a *juku* or private academy was generally a resolute intellectual who gathered disciples around him, as an academy of scholars, and expounded on his particular philosophy or scientific theories. The academies ranged from elementary schools offering simple literacy training to higher institutions providing advanced study to graduates of clan schools. The private academies also accepted intellectually gifted sons of priests, farmers, and merchants. Most academies taught Confucianism, but, since they were unofficial, the scholar at the head of the institution could freely expound his own, sometimes unorthodox, interpretations. While some academies specialized in Western studies, a few offered "national studies" that stressed Japan's own conditions and experience and eventually helped to provide the rationale for restoring the Emperor.

In the academies, the modern principle of reward for achievement was developed and applied to offset the traditional influence of class status in the feudal system. In competition with commoners, the Samurai students often came off second best. As a result, the clan and imperial authorities began to stress "the cultivation of talent" and "human resources." The philosophy of the *juku* did not produce an open society, but eased the transition to a modern merit system; and the freedom of the *juku* to introduce Western studies paved the way for acceptance of Western influence in official schools.

Writing Schools

During feudal times the education of the common man was neglected, since the rulers held that the people should learn only to obey. Expression of official concern for education of villagers was limited to occasional assignment of a Confucian teacher to give "lecture-sermons" on the virtues of obedience, diligence, filial piety, humility, and loyalty. These traditional, elitist values were generally accepted by the commoners, and, except on the occasion of agrarian revolts, served to keep them tranquil.

As wealth increased among the merchants, the more affluent sought an education for their children in writing schools, or *terakoya* (literally: temple school, though by Tokugawa times they were purely secular institutions), which inculcated the esteemed Confucian culture and provided practical vocational training. These schools offered not only reading and writing of simple Confucian moralistic writings and Buddhist homilies, but also such subjects as arithmetic on the abacus and business correspondence. This schooling enabled the ordinary citizen to survive in a carefully structured feudal society and to continue in the occupation of his father.

Terakoya teachers were drawn from among Buddhist and Shinto priests and from among doctors, Samurai, dispossessed Samurai (*ronin*), wealthy retired farmers, and even some women. The typical school enrolled approximately 30 pupils and was taught by a teacher, his wife, and several senior pupils. Tuition was low—*sake* (wine) and foodstuffs in country *terakoya*, or a small amount of money in the cities. Beginning in about 1800, the number of these schools grew rapidly. By 1868 a substantial number of the wealthier and more influential commoners sent their sons and even some of their daughters to the *terakoya*.[4]

As a Base for Modern Education

The major feudal schools were remarkably productive in spite of the fact that, as in most Western countries in the mid-19th century, there was no national school system. Apparently they achieved their central purpose, the inculcation of moral values for character development.

In the 19th century, Western studies were included in the curriculum. They were accepted by the Shogunate as long as they were restricted to science and did not propagate the feared foreign ideologies. Many of the standard European works on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and botany were translated, published, and circulated not only to specialists but even to the lower ranks of Samurai in all parts of the country. By 1850 Japan was producing its own corps of sophisticated scholars, with surprisingly modern ideas.[5] The Nation had "a developed system of formal school education. . . . It was class-ridden, formalistic, backward-looking, out of date, but . . . also intellectually sophisticated, disciplined, occasionally stimulating, and politically relevant."[6]

With these resources Japan was ready to make a relatively smooth transition into the modern world. The Nation had a trained leadership and a citizenry of which approximately one-third was literate. All Samurai, and about half the total male population could read and write, as well as understand Government edicts. Many could enjoy literature from the flourishing publishing houses. Japan was bursting with intellectual curiosity about the West, and the people were stimulated to achievement, a prerequisite for the "take-off" in economic development. The investment in education during the feudal period led to more intensive interest in education during the subsequent Meiji times. A system of universal education was generally recognized as essential to establishing a modern state. Ignorance was attacked as an obstacle to progress that, like other feudal antiquities, had to be eliminated.

The island-nation developed rapidly, borrowing selectively from the West. In general, the eventual result was a successful marriage of indigenous and Western ideas and institutions. According to one scholar, there were, however, three stages of cultural diffusion: (1) *Adoption* of foreign ideas and institutions wholesale, even, in some cases, to the point of faddism, (2) *adaptation* of those ideas and institutions to the Japanese culture, sometimes to the point of complete distortion or irrelevance, and (3) *substitution* of a thoroughly "Japanized" version of the foreign ideas and institutions.[7]

This controlled revolution resulted in achieving modernization in one short generation, by the end of the 19th century. The phenomenon was regarded by the rest of Asia, including China (even after its defeat by Japan in 1895), as an inspirational demonstration of achievement by an Asian people. Afterwards, especially during the period following World War II, other countries of Asia attempted to modernize, but, lacking Japan's cultural unity and distinctive historical experience, they have found the task slower and more difficult.

The Charter Oath of Five Articles: 1868

In 1867 the transition from feudalism was accomplished with little turmoil and bloodshed. The Emperor Meiji was "restored" to the throne by a determined group of young revolutionaries who, on the average, were about 30 years old. They launched a rapid series of reforms intended to close the gap with the West. All, including such outstanding leaders as Hirobumi Ito, Takayoshi Kido, Toshimichi Okubo, and Shigenobu Okuma, advocated universal education as a means of accelerating progress. "It is much to the credit of the new Meiji government," said Sir George Sansom, "that immediately upon coming to power it turned its mind to the question of education." [8]

In April 1868 Emperor Mutsuhito,[9] then only 16 years old, promulgated the Charter Oath of Five Articles, which stated the principles upon which the new imperial rule would be based. It linked the abandonment of "base customs of former times" with a strong positive commitment to reform in education by stating, "Knowledge shall be sought from all over the world and thus shall be strengthened the foundations of the imperial polity." [10] In carrying out the Emperor's dictum, the oligarchy initiated a program of educational exchange: students were dispatched to the West to gain knowledge of Western technology and learning; and Western experts were invited to Japan as instructors. In conjunction with this effort in the first decade of modernization, some 500 students were sent overseas. More than half came to the United States. Their motivation was strong since they knew which posts they would assume on their return. Their studies were for the most part practical, including science and technology as preparation for industrial development, law as preparation for politics, and education as preparation for teaching.[11]

The Japanese had few modern institutions, and were determined to borrow only the best that each foreign country had developed. In "seeking knowledge throughout the world" they imported experts from many countries. They brought to Japanese shores French specialists who revised and codified the criminal code and taught strategy and tactics to the army; English specialists who instructed them in techniques of weaving wool, coining money, and building and operating railways, lighthouses, and a navy; German specialists who trained them in methods of local government, medicine, and beer making; and American specialists who helped them to initiate a modern postal service, agricultural reforms, the colonization of Hokkaido, and a new school system.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AS AN EDUCATIONAL MODEL

For a variety of reasons, the United States has had a dominant influence on the modernization of the Japanese educational system.[12] Over the years the Japanese have borrowed more educational ideas from the United States than from any other single country. This borrowing began during the 19th century, when the Japanese observed that Americans, in the pre-Civil War period (1830–60), had come closer to resolving the problem of universal education than any other nation. The American school system consequently became a model for Japanese educators. Their experience with Tokugawa schools was of little use in organizing a modern national system and in staffing educational institutions with competent teachers of modern science. That teaching itself was a science and that there were effective techniques of instruction were in themselves new insights. Education up to this time had been based on Confucian moral studies, and had served as a private road to dignified accomplishment. Yukichi Fukuzawa, the pioneer of modern education in Japan, castigated Confucian studies and demanded a utilitarian approach such as he had observed in the West. He vigorously proclaimed, "What is really wanted is learning that is close to the needs of man's daily life." Confucian scholars were called "rice-consuming dictionaries of no use to their country but only a hindrance to its economy." [13] This attitude was widely shared among the so-called "Western scholars" who had now gained greater influence than the Confucianists and the "national scholars" (Shintoists). The Western scholars, including Fukuzawa, dominated the School Committee of 1868 which had been charged with designing plans for the new national school system. Temporarily, at least, liberalism and utilitarianism were victorious.

The call of the times was for both leadership and literacy. Despite a shortage of resources, the Meiji oligarchy embarked on the ambitious task of attempting to attain both goals simultaneously. The first phase focused on higher education as a rapid source of leaders. In 1869 a new university with a Western studies curriculum was established to replace the old Confucian college, *Shoheiko*. After numerous amalgamations, this became the most prestigious institution in the Nation, the Tokyo Imperial University.[14]

Equally pressing, however, was the need for a universal school system that would (1) build national unity through teaching loyalty to the Emperor, and (2) prepare a cadre of technicians to effect modernization. In July 1871 the National Government created a Department of Education in Tokyo with responsibility for all educational and cultural affairs. A national authority was thus created before the actual school system came into existence.

The 1872 Education Code

A plan for a modern educational system on a national scale was decreed in the 1872 Education Code (*Gakusei*). Copying the uniform, centralized system of France initiated by Napoleon in 1854, it divided Japan into eight university districts. Each district was to have 1 university and 32 middle school districts, each of which in turn was to have 210 elementary school districts. The plan thus projected a total of 53,760 elementary schools, or 1 school for every 600 persons. Only half this number of elementary schools came into being, indicating perhaps that the planners were overzealous in their objectives. Neither the National Government nor the local governments could afford such an explosion of school facilities.

The most interesting aspect of the code was the surprisingly democratic statement of purpose found in its preamble:

> Learning is the key to success in life, and no man can afford to neglect it.... Learning being viewed as the exclusive privilege of the samurai and his superiors, farmers, artisans, merchants, and women have neglected it altogether and know not even its meaning. . . . Every man should therefore pursue learning. Accordingly, the Department of Education will soon establish an educational system . . . [whereby] *there shall, in the future, be no community with an illiterate family, nor a family with an illiterate person.* [Italics added.] Every guardian, acting in accordance with this, shall bring up his children with tender care, never failing to have them attend school. (While advanced education is left to the ability and means of the individual, a guardian who fails to send a young child, whether a boy or a girl, to primary school shall be deemed negligent of his duty.) [15]

Pursuant to the code, compulsory education of 8 years was envisaged for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14. Thus the principle of equality of educational opportunity was advanced. Japan turned from education of the elite to mass education in accordance with the philosophy of the "Enlightenment" enunciated by Fukuzawa. Although the plan was overambitious and was never completely implemented, it introduced a new societal value—education as a right of every youth. This was to become an integral concept in the modern system.

According to the 1872 Education Code, schools were to be administered by prefectural and local officials, but were to be partially subsidized by the National Treasury and inspected by the National Department of Education. Although the administrative structure was modeled after the French, the school system more closely resembled the American system: it began with a single track to provide for the three levels of elementary, secondary, and higher education, rather than with two tracks as in the European system, which offered academic schools for the elite and vocational schools for the commoners. All students thus became eligible, at least in theory, to attend the same type of school and to advance as far as their abilities permitted.

A memorandum was sent to the Governor of each Prefecture, conferring on him responsibility for establishing elementary schools in his region. The Governors then appointed education officers, each of whom supervised several elementary schools. The more conscientious Governors toured their Prefectures and exhorted local officials to establish schools. Some even personally paid part of the costs. Pressure from the National Government to institute schools often amounted to coercion. To accommodate the thousands of new students, local governments built as many new schools as they could afford. Often *terakoya* (writing schools) became public elementary schools without much alteration. Some were allowed to continue as private schools and were only gradually transferred to public control. In response to the pressure for mass education, schools proliferated throughout the country. Some were makeshift, others were more enduring. By 1875, 33 percent were located in private homes and 40 percent in Buddhist temples, while only 18 percent were in new school buildings.[16] Schools were usually small, with 1 or 2 teachers responsible for approximately 80 students. In 1876, out of 52,262 teachers, only 1 out of 6 had been trained in the new normal schools;[17] most were *terakoya* teachers who were unprepared for the new curriculum.

The Iwakura Mission

A few months before the 1872 movement for establishing new schools was launched, the Japanese Government dispatched to the West a high-level mission under Prince Tomomi Iwakura. Accompanying him were one-third of the most influential Meiji leaders, who thought it essential to see for themselves how Western institutions functioned.[18] The Government's concern for educational reform was evidenced by its including in this mission Fujimaro Tanaka, Senior Secretary of the new Department of Education, and five of the Department's ablest officials.

As the Iwakura mission was en route to Washington, the Japanese chargé d'affaires, Arinori Mori, an enthusiast for American education, wrote to a number of prominent Americans, seeking advice on establishing an educational system that would "elevate the condition of Japan intellectually, morally, and physically." The responses—from college presidents, professors, State superintendents of schools, a liberal Presbyterian clergyman, and even a member of the U.S. Congress—were incorporated in a book entitled "Education in Japan," published in New York in 1873. It became a general policy guide for the Japanese in establishing a national educational system.

Among the respondents was Dr. David Murray, professor of mathematics at Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N.J. With keen insight, he observed: "There are traditional customs, which it would be unwise to undertake to subvert. There are institutions already founded which are revered for their local and national associations, which without material changes may be made the best elements of a new system." [19] So favorably received was this advice, that Dr. Murray was promptly employed as education advisor to the Japanese reformers.

In the meantime, the visit of the Iwakura party had been facilitated by the enthusiastic planning of U.S. Commissioner John Eaton, the highest Federal education official. He scheduled visits to Massachusetts and Connecticut schools, among the best in U.S. public education at that time. Commissioner Eaton also collected for the delegation numerous educational documents including school laws, official State reports, university catalogs, and pamphlets on such specialized subjects as education for the deaf and mute. In addition, he gave them a professional library of works by Horace Mann and Henry Barnard and pioneer texts on teacher training, such as Page's "Theory and Practice of Teaching" [20] and Northends' "The Teacher's Assistant." These two books were later translated into Japanese and used as guides for teacher training.

It was apparent that American influence on the shaping of modern education in Japan would be considerable as a result of the Iwakura mission. Even the members of the group not specializing in education were deeply impressed with what they saw of American schools. After visiting a San Francisco elementary school, Takayoshi Kido, deputy leader of the mission, recorded in his diary:

> There is much to learn from its regulations. In our country there is a need for people in general to become enlightened, so as to maintain national power, and to assure independence and freedom. Many men of talent must be produced. Hence there is nothing more important than for schools to be established.[21]

Another prominent member, Gen. Kengi Yamada, looked upon mass education as a means of building a modern army. "The foundation for a strong army," he said, "is not simply a matter of giving arms to soldiers but rather to provide an education for the people as a whole . . . without discrimination of class or rank." [22]

Fujimaro Tanaka, upon his return to Japan, assumed the country's highest professional post in education. For 5½ years, he and Dr. Murray of Rutgers University worked together to forge a modern school system for the Nation. Within 2 years Dr. Murray could list an impressive number of achievements. His annual report to the Department of Education in 1875 included the following accomplishments: Introduction of a coeducational, graded elementary school; use of visual aids such as charts and blackboards in normal schools; introduction of Western science, history, and geography in the elementary school; organization of 1-month regional conferences throughout the country to provide inservice teacher training; and extension of women's education.[23] Dr. Murray also inspected progress in the Prefectures, served as consultant on the construction and equipping of school buildings, and devised changes in school administration.

In 1876 Dr. Murray organized another mission to America for his colleague Tanaka. The purpose was to conduct an intensive comparative study of the educational ideas of various countries as reflected in their national exhibits at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. At the conclusion of the exhibition, the members of the Japanese mission acquired as many national exhibits as possible, through purchase or as gifts. During a visit to schools in Boston, Tanaka commissioned the city architect to draw plans for a primary and secondary school and bought $10,000 worth of the latest school furniture and teaching materials. On returning to Tokyo, the Japanese used the plans to construct an elementary and secondary school patterned after the schools in Boston. These plans became the central exhibits of an "educational museum," which opened in 1877 in Tokyo and became the model for thousands of schools throughout the country.

Influence of Pestalozzian Principles

In post-Civil War America the influence of a liberal and permissive education was just being felt as a result of borrowing the philosophy and techniques of a great Swiss educator, Johann Pestalozzi (1746–1827). Like Rousseau, he held that education should follow the natural development of the child, rather than be imposed on him. Decrying the universal stress on rote memorization, he taught instead by direct sense experience with objects and models. This "object method" was popularized at the Oswego State Normal School in New York, which became the major influence in American teacher training for a full generation and attracted students from all over the world. The Japanese were already familiar with the idea, since the Reverend Octavius Perinchief, a liberal clergyman from Pennsylvania and one of the respondents to Mori in 1872, had strongly recommended it. To Confucian-trained ex-Samurai, the modern tone must have seemed strange:

> We are not to crowd upon the mind what our fathers crowded upon ours. For many ages and in many countries education consisted in forcing things into

> the human mind without showing how or why they were proper or wise . . . . There was no inquiry; much error, great superstitution. The point to be aimed at is, the placing of the child in possession of his mental faculties. Much depends on the teacher . . . who should be a person of quick perception with respect to child character, and should be in full sympathy with child nature. The power of the rod and of mere school drill is as nothing compared with the influence of gentleness and affection. Such teachers, being secured, something must be left to their discretion and skill. As no two children are alike, so no two teachers are, or should be, in all respects alike. The school system should be so framed as to secure order and life, without at the same time reducing everything to mechanical sameness.[24]

At the Tokyo Normal School established in 1872, a California schoolman, Marion M. Scott, stressed a methodology of teaching that discarded the old individual tutoring-reciting methods. He was the first to introduce the Pestalozzian principles in Japan. At the height of the Oswego movement in 1875, the Japanese leaders, with characteristic determination to seize the newest ideas, dispatched three of their brightest young specialists to analyze these principles firsthand. Fukuzawa (the previously mentioned pioneer of modern education in Japan) sent his protege, Hideo Takamine, to the Oswego State Normal School, while two others, Shuji Izawa and Senzaburo Kozu, were sent to other leading Pestalozzian institutions. On their return to Japan in 1878, all assumed positions of leadership in teacher-training institutions—one became director, and the other vice principal, of Tokyo Normal. Their texts on Pestalozzian methods were widely used and helped to improve elementary education. A representative of each prefectural normal school was invited to Tokyo Normal in 1882 to study the new method for a full year, and to carry back the information to his school. Any elementary teacher not acquainted with the "developmental" method was considered unworthy for his profession. The idea of the liberal, child-centered education—the antithesis of Confucian aims—had been transmitted to Japan.

Popular Opposition

However, there was opposition to the new type of school among the people, especially in rural areas. A major factor contributing to this resistance to modern reforms was the fear that the overriding concern with the child in the Pestalozzian philosophy would undermine traditional familial values. Second, the schools themselves were not considered satisfactory, especially when compared to the old *terakoya*, which seemed much more personal. Also, conditions of economic impoverishment increased discontent with the schools—peasants could not afford monthly school fees of 25 to 50 sen (¼ to ½ yen) for each child from an average family *annual* income of 30 yen, and books and materials were prohibitively expensive.

When in 1873 new military conscription laws were passed, the offending issues of compulsory army service and compulsory education were linked in the minds of the peasants and they finally revolted, setting torches to schools in many parts of the country. This explosive atmosphere reached its climax in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, which dissipated funds that might have been used for constructing and staffing additional schools.

These developments halted and even reversed the modernization of education. In response, Vice Minister Tanaka, aided by Dr. Murray, proposed a typically American solution—decentralization. They drafted a new Education Ordinance in 1879 which made a popularly elected school board in each town and village responsible for its schools. The move was unrealistic, for the people were still neither experienced in self-government nor convinced of the value of public education. The new law was regarded as another Government attempt to saddle local taxpayers with more of the burden of school support. As a result, some elementary schools were closed and others consolidated. Children, especially girls, were withdrawn from schools. If universal education was to be accomplished, the decentralization plan had to be discarded. The National Government resumed tight control in 1880, reinstituted 3 years of compulsory education, and from then on prescribed every detail of school practice from Tokyo.

Tanaka was already under attack by the Conservative members of the Government for his neglect of morals instruction. Emperor Meiji had encouraged his Confucian tutor, Motoda, and others to hand down a rescript on educational policy in 1879 that demanded a return to Confucian values and became the basis for a significant attack by traditionalists on the new system. Dr. Murray returned to the United States in 1878, and Tanaka resigned in 1880. The loss of these two leaders marked the end of the first period of liberal reform and of American influence on Japanese education.

Nevertheless, real reform had been achieved, based on the American model and on American advice. Physical plants and equipment—desks, blackboards, and even texts—were American. Teaching by graded classes rather than by tutoring had been introduced by Americans and by the Japanese educators who had studied in the United States. Even the permissive philosophy of Pestalozzi was accepted in Japanese educational thought (if not by its leaders) until the late 19th century. Roots had been established that were never entirely destroyed. The first stage in change—*adoption* of the new—now gave way to the second—*adaptation* of the new to the old.

THE SHIFT TO NATIONALISTIC EDUCATION

As the Meiji leaders consolidated their power, they became more conservative and fearful of the public enthusiasm for Western ways. No sooner had the Government crushed the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion than it was faced with a new danger—the People's Rights Movement, which demanded parliamentary government and more freedom. The oligarchy was determined to build a strong modern nation, but it was not ready to allow popular rights that might threaten their control. They reverted to authoritarianism in all fields.

Among the conservative intellectuals there were many who held that Pestalozzian education was deficient in content. It did not teach essential knowledge and it neglected moral instruction which they felt should be the core subject. Furthermore, it emphasized individual values, rather than the significance of the state. Motoda, Emperor Meiji's Confucian mentor, criticized the Western morals texts as being responsible for the decline in public morals and the destruction of the family system, as well as a threat to imperial control. With the endorsement of the Emperor, Motoda authored his own morals text, based on Confucianism, and distributed it to all schools.

Motoda's and Mori's Ordinances

The turning point came in 1880 when an ordinance was passed, dominated by Motoda's ideas. Placing morals first in the curriculum, it required a morals course in primary and middle schools to counter Western liberalism. Military drill was introduced for moral and intellectual, as well as physical, discipline. The Department of Education published its own series of standard texts in all subjects, based on the themes of loyalty and filial piety. These texts replaced the translated American ones as well as publications of the previous (liberal) administration. Japanese history was substituted for world history in primary schools. Confucian scholars, who had been underground during the "American decade," gradually returned to positions of power and influence, particularly in the Department. They were brought back into the schools to teach morals, since non-Confucianists were looked upon as unqualified to teach the subject properly. To keep teachers away from the People's Rights Movement, they were forbidden to attend political meetings. And in 1882 the Government issued an elementary teachers manual that required them to eschew the liberal principles they had learned in normal schools and return to the faith of the fathers.

In 1885, against Motoda's wishes, former diplomat and one-time Americanophile Arinori Mori, became Minister of Education in the first modern cabinet. Now an ardent nationalist and a convert to Bismarck's political philosophy, Mori's first move in office was to issue a series of ordinances that organized the modern educational system. Four codes—University, Elementary School, Middle School, and Normal School—provided a complete and articulated system for the first time. Mori reaffirmed emphasis on education for the needs of the state, a goal that was gaining ascendancy over that of education for the needs of the individual. Schools again stressed (1) loyalty to the Emperor-state, (2) productive ability, and (3) military training. At each level the morals course received highest priority.

It taught *national* morality, as interpreted by the conservative nationalists, rather than *personal* morality.

Even at Tokyo University, then designated "Imperial University," education was not to be in the spirit of free inquiry, but was to be a means of preparing for service to the state. The Normal School was given the important role of preparing teachers to nationalize the young. Accordingly, the education of teachers was subsidized by the state. Young teacher candidates were strictly supervised in dormitories that simulated military barracks.

This series of educational ordinances was geared to the Prussian-style constitution then being drafted by Mori's friend, Prince Ito. All education was to be consonant with the doctrine of the supremacy of the state that Ito was writing into the Meiji Constitution. The educational system, like the Constitution, borrowed heavily from German philosophy and practice. It was openly authoritarian and the Government considered it, like the army and navy, an arm of the National Government. Educational policy changed in orientation from utilitarian and international to national. Schools were made to conform to increasingly stringent Government control.

The single track of the Education Code of 1872 was now divided above the elementary level. The general availability of education was confined to elementary schools. Secondary education was for the select few, the intellectual elite who were to become the leaders of government and industry and contribute to the prosperity and might of the state.

The 8-year elementary level consisted of a 4-year compulsory ordinary elementary cycle and a 4-year higher elementary cycle. Beyond the elementary level was a middle-school level, consisting of a 5-year ordinary middle cycle and a 2-year higher middle cycle. Five regional higher middle schools provided both terminal education and preparation for the Imperial University. Middle and higher education were exclusively for boys, most of whom came from the Samurai class. They were often impoverished, and, to facilitate their entrance into these elite schools, tuition was frequently waived. At the same time, educational opportunity was made available to bright sons of farmers through a custom of sponsorship by the local landlord. In addition, a poor boy might be adopted by a wealthy family for marriage to its daughter (if there were no sons to inherit the household), and then sent to school. Nevertheless, it was now essentially a two-track system: one for the lower classes, where they could be controlled through morals instruction; and one for the upper classes, culminating in the university with its broader freedoms—"a remnant of the class distinctions of the Edo period." [25]

In Japan, as in America and other countries in the late 1880's, the philosophy of education was moving from Pestalozzianism to that of a German idealist philosopher, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841).[26] Traditional Japanese educators made the happy discovery that this philosophy was, unlike Pestalozzianism, congenial to their cultural needs, for it held that the all-embracing task of education was to teach morality, and that this could best be done by conserving the cultural heritage. To this end, Herbartians stressed knowledge and information, particularly the study of national history and literature. It was a conservative philosophy that did not challenge the status quo, and was therefore welcomed by the aging oligarchy. Teachers accepted it even more enthusiastically than they did Pestalozzi's method, since it conferred authority upon the teacher, where it had been lodged in the traditional system. Students flocked to Germany to study, and German philosophers replaced Americans at Tokyo Imperial University.

The shift from Pestalozzi to Herbart was not necessarily a turning point in the battle between freedom and authoritarianism. This choice had already been made in Mori's ordinances. Herbartianism simply reinforced the Confucian philosophy.[37] The Meiji leaders looked upon Germany as a nation beset by problems similar to their own, particularly the necessity to close the gap with other powers in national strength. German solutions seemed appropriate to the needs of the Japanese people—so appropriate, in fact, that Sansom claims they might have produced the same kind of system with or without German ideas.[38]

The Imperial Rescript on Education: 1890

Through adopting a Prussian-style constitution in 1889, the oligarchy sought to guarantee its control over the Nation, and at the same time to mediate the demands of the extremists on the right and left regarding popular constitutional government. Ito, the principal author of the constitution, and an opponent of parliamentary rule and civil liberties, insured in the document the enhancement of imperial prestige and, through the Emperor, the power of the oligarchy. There was now a legal foundation for the state. The next step was to formalize a nationalist educational philosophy in conformity with the interests of the state—a philosophy that would reinforce the Emperor's position by teaching all subjects absolute loyalty to him.

Accordingly, in the name of the Emperor, the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued in 1890. It became one of the fundamental documents in modern Japanese history. Although the first draft was influenced by Western thought and Christianity, the last of 15 revisions, all edited by the venerable Confucianist, Motoda, reflected the determination to bring Japanese education and thought back to a traditional ethical base. Anything savoring of fundamental human rights and materialism was eliminated. According to the 1890 Rescript, the basis of all education was the doctrine of Emperor worship combined with the Confucian ideology of loyalty, filial piety, and obedience to superiors. The document was brief, and vague enough to be accepted by all. It read as follows:

Imperial Rescript on Education

Know ye, Our subjects:

> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interest; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coequal with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.
>
> The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendents and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.
>
> The 30th day of the 10th month
> of the 23rd year of Meiji.
> (Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

The first two sentences were based on indigenous beliefs from ancient times; the following lines referring to personal relationships, which represent the heart of the document, were Confucian. All were intended to serve the new national values.

The 1890 Rescript became the Japanese philosophy of education and even the national philosophy of life for the next 55 years. It was a complete reversal of the injunction in the 1868 Charter Oath to seek knowledge throughout the world. Now the sources of Japanese morality were to come from within: Confucianism, Shinto nationalism (i.e., the primacy of the Emperor system), and the social system and way of life dependent on both. The individualism, intellectualism, and utilitarianism of the "Enlightenment" were eliminated.

The Rescript became the creed of nationalistic education, known and recited by all students. It was the focal point of religio-patriotic rituals held regularly in school assemblies throughout the land. At such an awesome ceremony the assembly sang the National Anthem, *Kimigayo,* bowed to the portraits of the Emperor and Empress, and listened reverently as the principal intoned the Rescript, as if in prayer. An error in the reading was considered a disgrace and might cost him his job, or worse. In case of fire, the principal's duty was to rescue the document or die in the attempt. Its philosophy permeated the curriculum, being propagated primarily by the core course—morals.

It also established a uniform philosophy and content for history, geography, national language, literature, music, and other subjects. Teachers inculcated the dogma that Japan was a unique family-state, under a Father-Emperor, the direct descendant of the primordial gods who created Japan. Thus the Emperor, the land, and the people were divine. The ancient cult of state, Shintoism, was revived so as to weld the loyalty of the people to the Emperor.[29] Since the Rescript was not a detailed document, the Government felt it necessary to appoint a great traditional philosopher, Dr. Tetsujiro Inouye, to write the official commentary, which went into 23 editions. He preached the dogma that Japan's spiritual traditions of loyalty and filial piety, *not* Western science, technology, and education, were the real bases for her strength.

The 1890 Imperial Rescript served Japan well. During a time when the adoption of foreign institutions threatened to become an invasion by too many alien ideas, the Rescript rallied the loyalties of the people back to an itensified national tradition. Despite the abortion of the process of modernization, it provided a system of absolute values that unified the Nation and prepared the people for the sacrifices to follow during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. But as the Government moved toward greater authoritarianism and nationalism, the Rescript was reinterpreted to meet the rising fervor of the times, and the original meaning was lost. (Two important policy documents much later carried the nationalistic dogma of the Rescript to a high pitch: "The Cardinal Principles of the National Entity" (*Kokutai no Hongi*),[30] promulgated in 1937, made political ultranationalism the raison d'être of all education; and in 1941 "The Way of the Subject" (*Shimmin no Michi*)[31] attempted to destroy individualism and Western ideologies and to enhance national morals and patriotism. So interpreted, the Rescript came to limit freedom of thought, teaching, and research.)

Nationalism Through World War I

Nationalism was a dominant theme in the schools from the time of Mori's ordinances (1885) through World War I (1918) and on to the end of World War II (1945). In 1891, the year following the Rescript, the Ministry issued an ordinance to elementary schools spelling out the aims of education, which were "to endeavor to cultivate loyalty to the Emperor and patriotism, to clarify duty to the country, to cultivate the national spirit," and to "establish correct attitudes towards the everlasting imperial line."[32]

Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) further heightened the people's sense of nationalism, and also served as a catalyst for the development of education. The ability of schoolchildren to read the China war news was said to have convinced their elders of the value of education and brought about better school attendance and support. Out of the great indemnity exacted from China, 20 million yen were allocated to local schools, elementary and middle, to the profit of many communities. After the Russo-Japanese War more than 95 percent of school-age children were receiving at least 4 years of schooling, and the expansion of the economy and the demand of the people for more education led to increasing the number of compulsory years of education to 6. The standards were raised concomitantly. Secondary education, an important variable in economic growth, became firmly established. In 1908 a chain of Government "higher schools" (at junior college level) was forged as preparatory schools for the imperial universities. Libraries doubled between 1907 and 1910. Education progressed rapidly from 1910 to 1920, with many students continuing to higher education.

By the end of World War I a half century had elapsed since Japan had begun to modernize. The growth of the country had been phenomenal. It had developed the first modern educational system in Asia, had put all elementary-level children in school, achieved the first universal education, and had produced the first literate population in Asia. It had "arrived."

AN INTERLUDE OF AMERICAN PROGRESSIVISM IN THE TWENTIES

Many educators, however, were not content with the form of education that prevailed. Students were turned out of schools like sausages, as uniform standardized products. The system was efficient, but it generally crushed creativity and free expression of personality. Japan had been on the side of the Allies in the World War I, fighting "to make the world safe for democracy." Woodrow Wilson's "14 Points" were popular, and had stimulated a tide of enthusiasm for democracy among young people and intellectuals. Education sought a freer philosophical base, and found it in the works of John Dewey.

At this favorable moment some of John Dewey's students and admirers invited him to visit Japan.[38] He arrived in February 1919, already a world-renowned, leading democratic philosopher. His public lectures on the instrumentalist philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University were eagerly anticipated. Subsequently, he met the Premier and was offered the decoration of the Order of the Rising Sun (which he declined).

The progressive movement was already well established by the time of Dewey's stay in Japan, and at that time he met a number of disciples and won new converts. His works were translated into Japanese, and dozens of articles and 12 books appeared about his philosophy. Germanism had prevailed in Japanese intellectual life since the 1880's, but of the non-German philosophers, Dewey was the most widely followed.

Each of the four Government higher normal institutions—Tokyo, Tokyo Women's, Hiroshima, and Nara Women's—established laboratory schools that became centers of experimentalism and progressive practice. Other progressive movements were also influential in the development of Japanese education. For example, prefectural normal schools, such as that at Chiba, were experimenting in self-study methods. Also, prominent persons instituted private progressive schools that spearheaded the new education. For example, former Vice Minister of Education, Masataro Sawayanagi, opened the experimental Seijo Elementary School in 1917, which demonstrated a modified form of the Dalton Plan, emphasizing respect for child personality and making children responsible for themselves. Helen Parkhurst, the originator of the Dalton Plan, came to Japan a few years later and was instrumental in introducing it into several schools. It became one of the most popular progressive methods. Other progressive educators—William Heard Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., and Carleton Washburne, superintendent of public schools, Winnetka, Ill.—found willing disciples for their doctrines. In 1930, Progressives founded a New Education Society which joined the World New Education Fellowship. By 1937 approximately 300 schools in Japan were following the ideas of the "New Education" and more than half the elementary schools were attempting to implement some of its principles. But the flourishing of progressivism soon came to an end; the assumption of power by the military, who regarded the open-ended educational philosophy as subversive, rapidly led to its suppression.

THOUGHT CONTROL AND INCREASED NATIONALISM THROUGH WORLD WAR II

Throughout the period of the "liberal 1920's," the Conservatives were gathering strength to subdue the various groups of dissenters—Marxists, Socialists, Liberals, and Democrats. In 1925 a special system of thought control, enforced by the Special Thought Police, was installed. The same year, military officers on active duty were assigned to all middle and higher schools to provide military training. All physical education assumed a military flavor; boys from the seventh grade up went on annual maneuvers; and student uniforms further gave the schools the semblance of military academies. A martial mood prevailed.

Beginning in 1928, specialized agencies of thought control were organized within the Ministry of Education. What was this "dangerous thought" that required controlling? It was any of the "eccentric and radical theories," from communism to democracy, then being disseminated in the colleges and universities. In 1936, to counter their effects, a special council in the Ministry devised a "thought program" for the schools. Its program recommendations were summarized as follows:

1. Japanese institutions should be interpreted in accordance with national aims, which should be contrasted with the individualism and materialism of the West.
2. All things not in conformity with national policy should be excluded from Japanese thinking.

3. University professors should be chosen not only for scholarship but also for loyalty to Japanese tradition.
4. In the elementary schools, especially, the Japanese spirit and ancestor worship should be stressed.
5. In the training of teachers, principals, and inspectors, the importance of political reliability should be emphasized.
6. Textbooks should be designed to enhance the national spirit and should include an examination and refutation of foreign social philosophies.
7. Courses, such as morals and civics, should be taught in such a way as to strengthen filial piety, loyalty, and obedience to law.
8. History, in particular, should interpret Japan's social and political system favorably.
9. Other subjects, such as practical and fine arts and physical training, should also be used [for indoctrination].[34]

The military were determined to instill fanatical nationalism and unquestioning patriotism in Japanese youth. Officers assigned to the schools were vested with authority to judge students' thoughts. If any boy was unenthusiastic about drilling or was critical of the authorities, he could be summarily expelled or jailed.

In 1938 Gen. Sadao Araki was appointed Minister of Education, and the army virtually assumed responsibility for thought control among the Nation's youth. A unit of the Ministry's Bureau of Thought Supervision cooperated with the secret police to exercise surveillance over the schools. Police spies were planted in secondary and university classrooms. If a group of students on the playground seemed absorbed in animated discussion, they were immediately suspected of engaging in "dangerous thoughts." Intervention of the Special Thought Police was certain to follow. In this climate of fear and suspicion, student clubs were particularly vulnerable.

During this prewar period and throughout World War II, curriculum, teaching methods, and textbooks were all under the central control of the Ministry of Education, which was all-seeing and all-powerful. An estimated one-third of all texts [35] and three-fourths of the language texts were strongly nationalistic.[36] Teachers used the approved texts according to carefully prescribed instructions in the teachers' guides. No deviation was allowed, since the text promulgated the official doctrines. Students learned them by rote, or listened to the teacher explicate them. Drill, recitation, and examination were the exclusive methods of instruction.

The authoritarianism of classroom discipline was a mirror-image of the autocracy of Japan. Youth learned effectively to read and write, to accept myths and traditions as history, to understand the rudiments of natural science, and to acquire the necessary technical skills to operate in a technological society. There was no room for critical or independent thought, no training of the personality—only fortifying of the collective spirit at the expense of the individual.

The philosophy of education stated in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education and its two major commentaries, "Basic Principles of the National Policy" and "The Way of the Subject," was Shintoist-Nationalist in origin. Loyalty and patriotism were the highest values; individualism, internationalism, and pacificism were allied with treason. The state was absolute and divine.

The pre-World War II educational system was successful in achieving its main goals. It produced willing, efficient workers in a smoothly operating industrial machine. And during two generations of morals training, it helped develop a united and patriotic citizenry, obedient to higher authority and willing to sacrifice their lives in war. But the elite who gained admission to the exclusive higher schools and universities, where there continued to be a glimmer of freedom, did not always accept the official dogma. In the early 1930's the author received an essay from one of his 20-year-old higher school students. It said, "The education in Japan is limited so narrowly [that we are] almost prohibited from studying Japanese history as scientific history" (much like, he added, the bans against studying evolution in Tennessee at that time). And he concluded, "The Minister of War has now the highest power in our cabinet. This is a return to feudalism and Tennoism [i.e., Emperorism]. The spirit of Japan is only blind obedience to the leader." Such resistance to indoctrination was echoed by many imperial university students who were inclined to embrace just as dogmatically Marxism, socialism, and communism, and hence were the object of frequent and brutal police raids.

We must not, however, as John W. Hall, of the history department at Yale University, reminds us, judge Japan by American standards. Given Japan's feudal background and stringent resources, centralization and state control were probably the surest means of modernization when the Nation emerged from feudalism a century ago. Not only was Japan's citizenry loyal and obedient, but it was also, says Prof. Hall—

> . . . intelligent in its behavior and educated to high standards of lawful conduct and personal hygiene: [There were] farmers willing to profit from the results of scientific experimentation, businessmen able to adjust their policies to world market conditions, an intelligentsia inquisitive and avid for information through newspapers, journals, books, and travel, [and] an intellectual elite which by the 1920's was contributing to world literature and scientific development, [- -] these were some of the remarkable achievements of the Japanese educational system.[37]

Yet, despite these achievements, Prof. Hall concluded that—

> . . . We cannot easily forget the conditions that permitted the final military and intellectual debacle of the 1940's: the surge of ultranationalism which drove out all reason, the arrogance of the public official or of the state-dedicated scholar, the brutality of the soldier, the encroachment on freedom of inquiry by the thought police, the intellectual regimentation, and the mental and physical exhaustion brought on by the war. These are the nightmares that haunted the postwar reformers and still trouble the Japanese intellectual today.[38]

SUMMARY

At the time of Japan's emergence from feudalism, it was a country with many advantages. The land was small, compact, and isolated. The people were culturally unified. Their country had never been successfully invaded. They had enjoyed some two and a half centuries of relative peace. The beginnings of modern institutions of government, trade, and education were already evident in the Tokugawa period. In education, there was a substantial growth of systems of schools and the accessibility of educational opportunity was increasing among wealthier commoners as well as most Samurai. This produced a trained leadership and citizenry more than a third of whom were literate. The Tokugawa educational legacy to Meiji Japan included the Confucian traditions of respect for learning and for the scholar, together with developed institutions of learning. This base permitted rapid growth in the modern educational system when it was launched in 1872.

However, the new system was radically different from the old. It was open to girls as well as boys, a striking innovation in a Confucian country. It was egalitarian in theory as opposed to the elitist schools of the feudal period. It taught sciences and vocational subjects rather than the Confucian classics.

The Meiji leaders were successful in modernizing their country rapidly because (1) they were farsighted nationalists determined to mobilize all available talent, from high and low classes, for national goals, and (2) they had a paternalistic sense of responsibility toward the masses. They built upon the human investment of feudal days with a more intensive investment in Meiji times. They borrowed selectively from the West, leaning primarily on the United States as a model for the initial modern school system. After almost a decade of American influence, however, Confucian sources were once again consulted for educational guidance and Germany was found to be a model more congenial to their own traditions and goals. They codified a nationalist educational philosophy in 1890 in the famed Imperial Rescript on Education, which was the basis for Japan's ideology until 1945.

Besides the exposure to an egalitarian American influence in the first decade of the Meiji period, Japan experienced a second transmission of democratic American educational influence in the so-called "liberal 1920's" when the philosophy of John Dewey and the progressive education movements became popular. Though widely accepted at normal schools and the elementary level, this approach was suppressed by the militarists when they rose to power in the late 1930's. During World War II, education was characterized by authoritarianism, indoctrination, and thought control.

In terms of its goals of inculcating loyalty, obedience, and patriotism, the pre-World War II educational system was a success. It produced willing, efficient workers and loyal, unquestioning citizens. Moreover, this first modern educational system in Asia also enabled Japan to become the first Asian country to achieve universal literacy, and placed it at the forefront of industrialization. Finally, these achievements paved the way for it to attain the status of a great power in the 1920's.

NOTES

[1] John W. Hall, "The Nature of Traditional Society: Japan." In Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, *Political Modernization of Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 14–41.

[2] The standard study of Tokugawa education is R.P. Dore's *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1965). Also useful is Herbert Passin's *Society and Education in Japan* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965), ch. 2.

[3] Passin, op. cit., p. 14.

[4] Dore, op. cit., p. 254.

[5] Men like Sorai Ogyu, Nobuhiro Sato, and Sanyo Rai, to mention only a few, were producing farsighted, ethical, and political literature which was widely read and disseminated.

[6] Dore, op. cit., pp. 317–22.

[7] Fred Kerlinger, "The Modern Origin of Morals Instruction in Japanese Education," *History of Education Journal* (Summer 1951), pp. 123–24.

[8] G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 452.

[9] Mutsuhito is the given name of the Emperor Meiji; Meiji ("Enlightened Rule") is the reign name rather than the personal name of the ruler. The Meiji period was 1868–1912.

[10] Walter McLaren, ed., "Japanese Government Documents," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* vol. 42, pt. 1 (Tokyo, 1914), p. 8.

[11] The young Japanese favored old, established American colleges and universities such as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Rutgers, Pennsylvania, and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. But a few picked small schools like Hope College, Holland, Mich., and Asbury College (now DePauw University), Greencastle, Ind.

[12] Commodore Matthew Perry forced the Japanese to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa on Mar. 31, 1854, which legally opened the doors of Japan. In 1858 the first American Consul General, Townsend Harris, was able to secure the first modern commercial treaty.

[13] Sansom, op. cit., p. 454.

[14] "Imperial" was added in the new University Code of 1886.

[15] Kumaji Yoshida, "European and American Influences in Japanese Education." In Inazo Nitobe et al., *Western Influences in Modern Japan* (Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 34–35.

[16] Passin, op. cit., p. 74.

[17] Ibid., p. 75.

[18] *Mainichi,* Feb. 4, 1968.

[19] *Education in Japan, A Series of Letters Addressed by Prominent Americans to Mori Arinori* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1873), p. 101.

[20] Page's textbook was for a half century, following publication in 1847, the most influential guide to general principles of teaching in use in American normal schools.

[21] *Mainichi,* loc. cit.

[22] Passin, op. cit., p. 65.

[23] David Murray, "Education in Japan," U.S. Bureau of Education, *Circulars of Information,* no. 2 (1875), p. 146.

[24] *Education in Japan,* loc. cit., pp. 46–47.

[25] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Gakusei 80-nen-shi (Eighty-Year History of the School System),* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1954), p. 520.

[26] Herbart's teaching method consisted of five steps: Preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application.

[27] The Japanese identified the five virtues of Herbart's (inner freedom, efficiency of will, good will, justice, and equity) with the five Confucian virtues (benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, propriety, and sincerity).

[28] Sansom, op. cit., pp. 363–64.

[29] Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (Yokohama, Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1927), pp. 559–72, contains a brilliant essay on "The Invention of a New Religion," which describes from the viewpoint of a British observer the development of Shinto as a state religion.

[30] Robert King Hall, ed., *Kokutai no Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan).* (Trans. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949).

[31] Translation of *Shimmin no Michi (The Way of the Subject).* See Otto D. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record* (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1943), pp. 426–27.

[32] Ministry of Education Directives no. 4 and no. 11 (November 1891), as quoted in Mark T. Orr's *Education Reform Policy in Occupied Japan* (Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina, 1954), p. 18. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

[33] For a definitive description of John Dewey's influence see Victor N. Kobayashi's *John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought* (Ann Arbor, Mich., the University of Michigan School of Education, 1964).

[34] The Council on Innovation in Education and Learning, *Draft of the Proposal of the Council on Innovation in Learning and Education* (October 1936). Mark T. Orr, op. cit., pp. 23–25.

[35] Delmer M. Brown, *Nationalism in Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955), p. 222.

[36] Tomitaro Karasawa, "Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks," *Japan Quarterly,* vol. 2 (July-September 1955), p. 381.

[37] John W. Hall and Richard K. Beardsley, *Twelve Doors to Japan* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 409.

[38] Ibid., p. 412.

CHAPTER 2

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF PRE-WORLD WAR II JAPAN

KINDERGARTENS

The Japanese lavish affection on their young children. They have taken a great interest in preschool education from the very beginning of the modernization period. This concern was displayed by one of the members of the 1872 Iwakura mission, Shinzo Seki, who gathered data in Europe on the theories of the pioneer kindergarten organizer, Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852). On his return he published Froebel's ideas on the creative self-activity of children. In 1876 he became director of the kindergarten attached to the Tokyo Women's Normal School. This was a new Government institution organized by Tanaka and Murray. A German woman, Mrs. Clara Matsuno, who had married a Japanese and who had studied under Froebel himself, was recruited to teach in the school. The Empress and the Empress Dowager attended the formal ceremony of inauguration the next year, lending great prestige to the enterprise. In the 1877 annual report of the Ministry, the subject areas reported taught were "life, beauty, and knowledge." Methods used were play, drawing, paperfolding (*origami*), and singing.[1]

Most of the early kindergartens were attached to Government normal schools, but, with the establishment of growing numbers of Froebelian kindergartens by American women missionaries and the Buddhists, private institutions soon outnumbered public ones. Eventually the private kindergartens were recognized as independent schools within the educational system by the Kindergarten Act of 1926.[2] At that time there were 1,000 kindergartens, attended by some 100,000 children, mainly from the middle and upper classes. Most of the schools were in cities and towns; only 6 percent were in rural areas. As prescribed by the act, their purpose was "developing the natural ability of children of pre-school age, cultivating their individuality, improving their physical health, and making them familiar with social intercourse, and good manners and noble deeds."

With Ministry encouragement, Froebel's view of children's play activities as educative was widely accepted. But in the liberal 1920's, kindergarten specialists moved away from Froebel's methods, which in the hands of some teachers had become highly structured, to a more open, child-centered program. New methods were borrowed from the United States and from Italy, particularly the Montessori method, although the interest in Froebel remained keen. Hiroshima Higher Normal became a center for research on Froebel's theories, and had published 13 books of translations or studies by the mid-1940's.

Meanwhile, kindergartens grew steadily. By 1938 there were 2,000, two-thirds of them privately operated. The enrollment was 270,000, even though kindergarten attendance was not compulsory. These kindergartens served children aged 3 to 6 in courses of 1, 2 and 3 years (chart 1, p. 41).

Japanese kindergartens were characterized from the outset by a remarkably free spirit, for in Japan children at this age are given the greatest freedom they will ever have. Even as early as the turn of the century, the best kindergartens in Japan were as good as the finest anywhere in the world, as illustrated in Baroness Shizue Ishimoto's account of her childhood experiences at the exclusive Peeresses School kindergarten:

> The teachers took us to the flower garden or let us play in the sandbox where we built hills and waterfalls. Then we played tug-of-war under the shadowy wisteria trellises. Indoors, we learned paperfolding, and how to make flying storks, sailing ships, blooming lotus, walking postmen, and many other shapes with colorful rice paper. Also we drew pictures, learned simple embroidery and other handwork. At a given time we gathered in the big hall where the teacher played the piano while we sang songs and performed simple dances.[3]

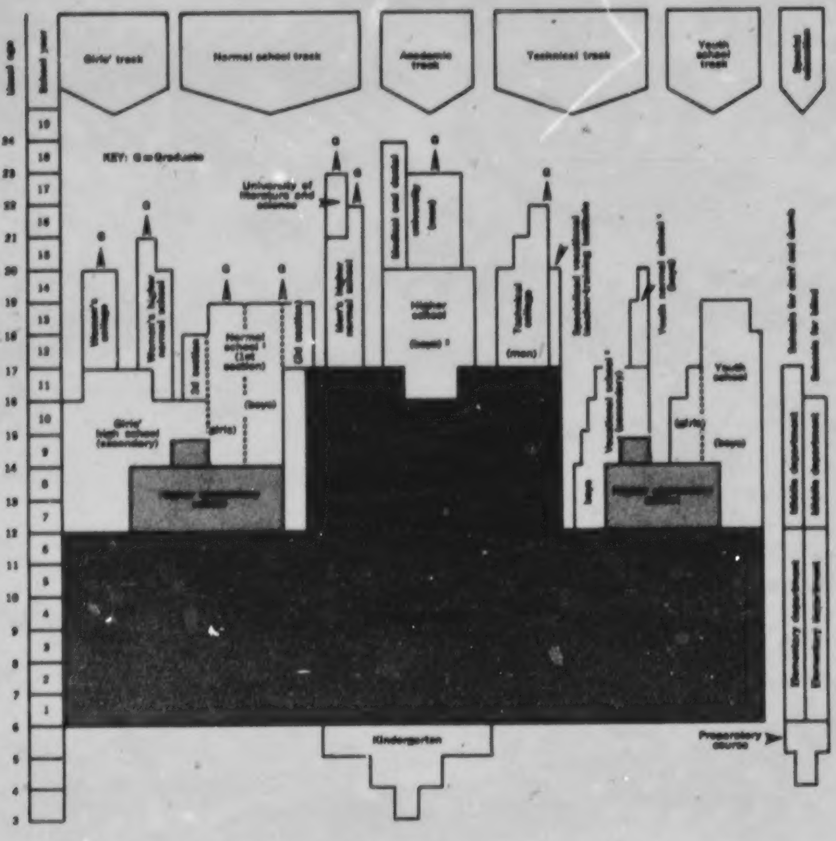
During their trip to Japan in 1919, John Dewey and his wife visited the kindergarten and elementary school attached to the famous Christian school, Japan Women's College (now a university). Like other American visitors they were impressed with the children's skill in art:

> They have a great deal of freedom there, and instead of the children imitating and showing no individuality . . . I never saw so much variety and so little similarity in drawings and other handwork, to say nothing of its quality being much better than the average of ours. The children were under no visible discipline, but were good as well as happy; they paid no attention to visitors, which I think is ultra-modern, as I expected to see them all rise and bow.[4]

It was at the kindergarten level that the Japanese were most successful in introducing a Western permissive education. Under the leadership of a few skilled and trained teachers, the schools provided children with experience in group living and self-expression. Lacking the inhibitions which would come soon enough in elementary school, they expressed themselves with great creativity in art and dramatic play.

As the war approached, and nationalism became more intense, the kindergartens struggled vainly to retain their liberal approach. Along with other schools, they were obliged to become nationalistic both in aims and

Chart 1.—Multiple-track Japanese school system: Pre-World War II


Girls' track
Normal school track
Academic track
Technical track
Youth school track
KEY: G=Graduate
G
University of literature and science
Higher school
(boys)[2]
Normal school[1] (1st section)
(boys)
(girls)
Girls' high school (secondary)
(men)
Youth school
(girls)
(boys)
Kindergarten
Preparatory course

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[1] Girls and boys graduating from either section of the normal school could enter their respective higher normal schools.

[2] Upon completion of the 4th year of middle school, students could take the entrance examination for the higher school and, if successful, finish the latter in 3 years. Such students might graduate from the university at the end of their 16th school year.

[3] Graduates of the vocational school could enter the technical college.

[4] Youth normal schools admitted graduates of coeducational, middle, girls' high, or normal schools who had completed at least 11 years of education (or the equivalent).

curriculum. The new goal, according to a report of the World Federation of Education Associations meeting in Tokyo in 1937, was primarily character training "to inculcate in them [i.e., the children] a spirit of deep homage towards the Imperial Family and of patriotism towards their country." [5]

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

In the 1930's and until World War II, elementary schools were at two levels—ordinary elementary (grades 1-6) and higher elementary (grades 7-8 or 7-9). Six years had been compulsory since 1907, and attendance rates climbed steadily with the years. By the time of the war more than 98 percent of all the relevant age group were in ordinary elementary, and of these 67 percent were proceeding to higher elementary.

The school year began on April 1 and was divided into 3 terms, ending March 31. There was a brief vacation of approximately a month in the summer and another of about 2 weeks at the year's end. But even during the summer vacation there were school assignments; and during a part of this period teachers and students always went on an organized school outing to the mountains or seaside.

The school week consisted of 23 hours in the first grade and increased to as many as 33 hours in the sixth grade—about 6 hours a day for 5 days with an additional 3 or 4 hours on Saturday morning.

Aims

A totalitarian school reorganization called the National School Reform of 1941 (under Imperial Ordinance No. 148) was carried out on the eve of the war. Elementary schools were renamed "national schools." Their purpose was "providing elementary general education and basic training to the citizens in consonance with the Imperial Way . . . ." Article 1 of the "Regulations" for carrying out the Ordinance explicated this in detail:

> 1. Accepting the meaning of the Imperial Rescript on Education, the school shall have the pupils practice the Imperial Way in all aspects of education and in particular deepen their faith in the national policy.
> 2. It shall try to provide the pupils with the knowledge and skill necessary in the pursuit of their life, refine their cultural standards, and cultivate in them a sound mind and body.
> 3. It shall clarify the special nature of our culture, make them understand the trends of the Far East and the world, lead them to realize for themselves the situation and the responsibilities of our Empire, and endeavor to cultivate in them qualities appropriate to citizens of a great nation . . . .[8]

Further recommendations to elementary schools charged them to attach great importance to ceremonies and other school functions, maintaining close contact with pupils' homes, making education concrete and practical, and providing vocational education in the higher grades.

School Establishment and Class Size

National law required localities to establish an adequate number of elementary schools to provide for all the children within their boundaries. Subsequent to consultation with the localities, the prefectural Governor decided on the quantity and location of the schools. He was empowered to consolidate various small villages into one school district when necessary. The few private elementary schools in existence were also under the Governor's control and were required to meet public school standards.

By law each elementary school was limited to 24 classes, but in practice there were more than this number in many schools in large towns and cities. Class size in the lower grades was theoretically restricted to 60 pupils, and in the higher grades to 50. At times, however, the classes were larger, enrolling as many as 75. Only the first two grades were coeducational; beyond that level boys and girls were usually segregated under a national regulation that required establishment of a separate class if there were a sufficient number of girls in a given grade. Higher elementary classes were also differentiated on the basis of sex if there were enough girls in both grades to make a class. Beginning with the separation of classes in the third grade, material for girls was generally simpler and easier.

Curriculum and Teaching Materials

The elementary school curriculum was subject centered and rigidly controlled by the Ministry. In a move for efficiency under the National School Reform, all curriculum areas were consolidated into four integrated subjects at the ordinary elementary level: (1) *Citizenship* (morals, Japanese language, Japanese history, and geography); (2) *science* (science and arithmetic); (3) *physical training* (physical education and the martial sports of judo and kendo); and (4) *arts* (drawing, calligraphy, and handicrafts).[7] The Regulations also spelled out the specific objectives and content of each of these subjects. Citizenship would "cultivate the national spirit" and give the students a "spirit of reverance and service." The morals course was to convince the students of the moral mission of the Empire, and was, of course, the most important subject. The aim of science was to lay the basis for the "proper contribution to the development of our national welfare." Physical training was intended "to make them [the pupils] strong in mind and body and thus increase their ability to carry out service through self-sacrifice for the country." [8]

At the higher elementary level, domestic science was added to the curriculum for girls, and at least one of the following vocational subjects was added for both boys and girls: Agriculture, commerce, fishing, or industry.

All textbooks were produced or approved by the Minister of Education. They were rewritten in 1941 to conform to the demands of the military rulers. Educational films were also subject to official approval, while educational radio was under direct Government control. Phonograph records, slides, paintings, photographs, and models were used to some extent, but the textbook was the major source of information. Few schools had libraries of their own and supplementary reference works.

Methodology

Generally, teaching methods were formal and standardized. Rote learning of a fixed body of knowledge, necessary to pass the examinations to the next higher level, left little time for discussing or experimentation.

The teaching methods reflected the traditional teacher-pupil relationship of feudal times, with the teacher as master and the student as disciple. The teacher espoused acceptance of all higher authority, including his own, but he was thereby obligated to be concerned for the well-being of his students as individuals. Frequent home visitations were necessary. Often a close relationship between teacher and parents developed that endured for a lifetime. Japanese elementary schools had no counselors, but the ordinary teacher often performed this role very effectively. The kindness and humanity of most elementary teachers thus tempered the harshness and formality of the classroom, even in the worst of times.

Nearly all Japanese recall their elementary school days with nostalgia. The following are excerpts from autobiographies of college students prepared for the author when he was a teacher in Japan in the mid-1930s:

> Our teacher was a good-tempered and young man. He taught us the Japanese alphabet, figures, and drawing. Particularly I liked drawing and my teacher was very clever at it. So he always took us out to the woods, hills, the sea, and so on. We sat on the grass and sketched houses, trees, fields, and mountains, whistling and laughing.

Another analyzed his placid reaction to the authoritarian regimen:

> Simple playing and obediently learning were all my daily life, and I had not time to indulge in imagination and childish meditation. Therefore, my character and disposition are simple and obedient, and I was treated with affection by every kind of people.

The uniform curriculum was to be covered at about the same rate in all schools. Periodic reports of progress were required of the teacher. It was said that classes in the same subject at the same grade level in different parts of the country would be at the same place in the text at any one time. Under these conditions, relevancy of the lessons to child life in a particular community was difficult to achieve, and provision for individual differences became virtually impossible.

Half of the students' time was spent mastering the perplexing ideographs of the national language. Learning them by rote was not only slow and tedious, but it seemed to have the effect of encouraging uncritical acceptance of the printed word. Calligraphy was always honored and traditionally it was considered sinful to destroy paper on which anything was written. This respect played into the hands of the ascendant military clique, who could thereby count on a high degree of acceptance for their propaganda. It explains also the conservative attitude of the military leaders regarding the content of the language course. Because of this attitude, little was accomplished during this period in language reform; the *Romaji-Kai* (Roman Letters Society), the major reform movement, was even suspected of being disloyal and un-Japanese as the country became more nationalist. Thus, language simplification became a holdover problem for the postwar period.

YOUTH SCHOOLS

Above the ordinary elementary and higher elementary levels were the youth schools, which were parallel to, but not of comparable quality with, the secondary schools. They were simple, postelementary continuation schools administered by the Elementary School Section of the Ministry of Education.

In status the youth schools occupied the lowest level of the hierarchy of schools. Launched with high hopes in 1935, they trained indigent and lower ability youth in simple agricultural and industrial work to make them more productive in the war effort. They were 2- to 7-year part-time or full-time schools designed for laboring youth who had finished elementary school but had neither the ability nor opportunity to continue their schooling in the regular system. In 1939, when the China War was already taxing the country's productive power, the Government made attendance compulsory for all boys 12 to 19 who were not attending other schools. Girls were not required to attend, although many did.

According to the Ministry directive that established the youth schools, their first objective was "to make clear the meaning of loyalty to the Emperor and love of country and to strengthen the spirit of self-devotion and public service."[9] The curriculum was similar to that of the ordinary elementary and higher elementary schools, consisting of morals and citizenship for both boys and girls, military training for boys (absorbing about one-third of the school week), and home economics, sewing, and physical education for girls.

Some 15,000 youth schools were scattered in makeshift quarters throughout the country, mostly in rural areas. Since they lacked the status of the regular schools, they received the smallest allocation in the education budget. Consequently, plant, teachers, and equipment were poor. The Government considered them important, however, because they were serving more than 2½ million youngsters in 1940.

During World War II the youth schools were jointly administered by the Ministry of Education and the War Ministry. They were inspected by subordinate army officers, and provided work troops for the army. Unfortunately, the education they provided was minimal and they were essentially dead-end schools for children of the poor.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Despite the great demand for further education, the gates narrowed after the compulsory 6 years and only about 1 out of every 4 youths who applied was able to enter one of the forms of regular secondary education. Schools at this level included (1) boys' middle schools, (2) girls' high schools, and (3) vocational schools. Some were established by municipalities and private (commercial or missionary) organizations, but the majority were operated by prefectural governments. The law required each Prefecture to have at least one boys' middle and one girls' high school. Although all three types of secondary schools were parallel institutions, they served different clientele and their curriculum and administration were distinct.

Boys' Middle Schools (Grades 7–11)

Entering the boys' middle school (*chu gakko*) of the academic track was a significant and usually traumatic experience for a Japanese youth. To do so, he had to clear the first of a series of examination hurdles confronting those desiring to go on to the university. Consequently, the middle school attracted an elite group whose members had talent and ambition and the financial resources to pay tuition. Only about 10 percent of the male graduates of elementary schools were admitted. They came primarily from cities and towns, but included a sprinkling of farmers' sons. The schools had a 5-year course of study, but it was possible after 1919 for the brightest students to go on into the elite "higher school" at the end of the fourth year if they were able to pass its difficult entrance examination at this juncture. Some of the graduates of the boys' middle school who were unable to gain entrance into the higher schools switched to the vocational track, attending technical colleges, while the rest went into business or industry. In reality, the middle school was terminal for approximately 75 percent of those who entered, but the curriculum, geared to the academic stream, did not differentiate between groups. Even if a student did not continue, his graduation from a middle school bestowed on him a certain prestige that enabled him to join a bank or small business firm.

The stated aim of the middle school was "to give the male pupils a good general education of a rather high standard and to foster the spirit of national morality." The subjects taught were generally comparable to those in an American high school—morals, civics, Japanese language and Chinese classics, history and geography, a foreign language (English, German, French, or Chinese), mathematics, science, technical studies, drawing, music, practical work (e.g., woodworking or gardening), and physical education. A student's schedule was heavy with "solids," including at least 10 different subjects each week. These and a few electives occupied 30 to 35 weekly class hours. Most subjects were limited to 3 hours or less per week; exceptions were Japanese language, Chinese classics, and foreign languages, which met 6 to 9 hours a week.

English (or another foreign language) was introduced in the first year (seventh grade) and continued 5 to 6 hours per week during the entire 5 years. A few wealthy schools could afford to employ a native English speaker as a teacher, with reasonably satisfactory results. But for the most part the Japanese teachers of foreign languages were poorly trained and taught by means of translation and grammar, with the result that the students gained only a smattering of the language (and that with defective pronunciation) for their pains.

All students had to take military training under army officers. This training was in earnest, consisting of close order drill, target practice, and use of hand grenades and machine guns. In addition, the military officer lectured on subjects designed to inspire a martial and patriotic spirit. Organized opposition to military training was unthinkable, although students were happy to avoid it if they could find a good excuse. Reflecting on his reactions to this youthful exposure to military discipline, one of the author's students wrote:

> The one who gave me the deepest impression of all teachers of middle school was the teacher of military exercises. He was a reserve Captain, about 50 years old. All men in the school—boys and even teachers—were controlled by him. I have never seen a more vigorous [aggressive] man. In drill, we students were in fear and trembling.

Class size averaged more than 40, and 50 was common. The crowded school and curriculums, together with the fact that the school was a rigorous screening device for the higher school and university or technical college, precipitated the mental breakdown of many adolescents, since they were often subjected to intense family pressure and strain from overwork. In extreme cases some committed suicide. Critics also charged that the middle school turned out students ill-equipped for life and ignorant of their own language and history.[10]

Nevertheless, many middle schools acquired notable reputations, based on their venerable traditions. Like other schools, they were ranked in a hierarchy, with the oldest being the most esteemed. The First Middle School in Tokyo was the country's finest and its graduates regularly proceeded to the prestigious Tokyo First Higher School and eventually to Tokyo Imperial University. Famous schools received large donations from patrons, had strong alumni organizations, and enjoyed considerable autonomy. Some even exerted considerable political power.

Girls' High Schools (Grades 7–10 or 7–11)

The purpose of girls' high schools (*koto jo gakko*) was to provide "necessary and cultural education for girls, with special emphasis on national morality and womanly virtues." They served primarily a select group of middle and upper class girls—only about 8 percent of the total number of girls graduating from elementary school. In many respects, this school was similar to a U.S. "finishing school."

Although the girls' high was at exactly the same grade level as the boys' middle, its educational standards were lower. There *was* no "girls' middle"; the girls' high took its place, and was intended to be the "end of the line" for most of its students. The curriculum approximated that of the boys' middle, but there were fewer hours devoted to the "solid" subjects; e.g., national language, science, and mathematics. The additional time was devoted to cultural subjects such as the refined arts of flower arrangement, the tea ceremony, calligraphy, Japanese dancing, and to domestic science—all considered prerequisites to marriage. With poorer equipment, smaller libraries, simpler texts, and less thorough instruction than in the boys' middle, girls' highs were clearly inferior. This situation was in accordance with the traditional Confucian attitude that women's status should be subordinate to that of men, an attitude that resulted in legal and social discrimination against them in the prewar period.

Graduation from high school, for the majority of girls, was followed by marriage. Only 6 percent went on to higher education. As war approached, however, it became necessary for the girls' high to prepare its graduates for wartime service. The program became more practical, and eventually the schools were virtually converted to war factories that made articles such as uniforms. The girls were also sent, under their regular teachers, to work on the assembly lines of munitions plants, often far from home.

Vocational Schools (Grades 7–11)

Despite the need for technical training to modernize the country, Japan had inherited the attitude of many countries with traditional elites—namely, that manual labor was low and undignified, and therefore should be left to the lower classes and the uneducated. The goal of every young man was to become a Government official or at least a white-collar worker. Because of this attitude, technical and vocational education schools were held in low regard, lagged behind academic education in development, and for many years were not considered a part of the regular system. Finally, in 1899, the shortage of middle-grade technicians became a bottleneck for expanding industry. In response, the Government installed vocational schools (*jitsugyo gakko*), designated as agricultural, commercial, industrial, fisheries, and (later) colonization institutions. Eventually they became 5-year trade schools, with little or no general education in the curriculum. By 1937 there were more students in vocational schools than in any other type of secondary school. Despite repeated Government efforts to give them status through increased support, expansion, and a regulation officially placing them at the same level as the academic middle school, they remained second-class institutions. When students failed the entrance examination to middle school, as some 88 percent did, and refused to try again, they would often turn to the vocational school as an alternative. These schools generally accommodated about 10 percent of the elementary school graduates.

Under the pressure of wartime demand for technical personnel, the Government forced the three types of secondary schools into a common program. Academic male students as well as the girls were required to learn technical skills for the military effort. Students were pressed into labor service and their schools converted to war plants, assembling airplane parts and making uniforms. Classroom instruction was reduced to a minimum. By 1945, 3 million students were engaged in war work.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Five types of higher educational institutions were developed in Japan: (1) Higher schools, (2) universities, (3) women's colleges, (4) training institutions (normal schools), and (5) technical colleges.

After completing secondary school, the more ambitious and fortunate young people had a fairly wide choice of opportunities for higher education. Those with academic hopes and talents might go on to higher school, then university or medical or dental school. Technically inclined individuals could enter technical college, while aspiring teachers could go on to normal, then occasionally to higher normal school or even to the university of literature and science, which was primarily an advanced teacher-training institution. Girls had the choice of women's college or women's higher normal school.

Higher Schools (Grades 12–14)

At age 17 the university-bound student faced the most exacting examination of his career, the entrance exam to the higher school (*koto gakko*). Higher schools were 3-year academic schools that provided a direct route to the imperial university. Since there were only 32 higher schools, all strongly supported by the National Government, competition for admission was much keener than for technical colleges or normal schools, which received lesser support. The higher schools were exclusive, serving the intellectual elite. Generally only 1 out of 13 middle-school graduates succeeded in entering. Government policy restricted admissions as a means of controlling the number that would subsequently enter the university. The names of successful candidates were announced over the radio and in the newspapers, and these students were highly honored in their hometowns.

The curriculum of higher schools was comparable to that of the last year of a rigorous U.S. high school and the 2-year lower division of a large American State university. It consisted almost entirely of general education, with some preprofessional courses. A student had a choice of two majors, literature or science. He had to take two foreign languages, one in more depth than the other. (Literature and law students generally concentrated on English as their first foreign language; science majors concentrated on German.) The literature students took ethics, Japanese and Chinese classics, history, natural science, a first foreign language (English), a second foreign language (German, French, Russian, or Chinese), physical education, and military drill. In the third (last) year they could elect law, economics, or philosophy, so that they were prepared to go into social science, law, and the humanities in the university. The science students took an equally heavy load including mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, and drafting. They entered the field of medicine or some other science major in the university.

Each course met only 1 or 2 hours per week out of 30 class hours (of which only 3 to 6 were elective). This situation gave rise to complaints of superficiality, because students' energies were dispersed over too many courses, none of which had sufficient depth. One prewar student wrote:

> I feel melancholy in the life of *koto gakko*, for I think that we have no freedom in our search for the truth. We are confined merely to the school lessons. My brain is not satisfied with the small field of learning and [I am] yearning for some deeper knowledge of science; that is, my brain is now dreaming of *the beautiful kingdom of the university* [italics mine].[11]

The method of teaching was by lectures that amplified a prescribed text. Both lecture notes and text had to be memorized for examinations. Outside of class, students read widely. They frequented the school library, which was always well stocked with books in all languages, or the nearby bookstore with its rich collection of inexpensive paperbacks. A typical higher school student was interested in all ideas—philosophy, literature, politics—and in the idealistic problems of youth such as the meaning of life, love, and beauty.

It was here that the college spirit was at its height, perhaps much as it was in old Heidelberg in Germany. All students boarded in the school dormitories. Youth from all over the Empire, away from home for the first time, enjoyed a free and uninhibited lifestyle. The traditional motto of Fukuoka Higher School (now a part of Kyushu University), where the writer taught in the 1930's, was *iki to kangeki* (high spirits and deep emotion).

Students joined in sports and voluntarily undertook long and severe physical training together at dawn and from afternoon until late evening. They drank, sang, and roistered together. Their rallying cry was, "This is the most important time of my life." One of the author's students added:

> Our first task is not to study English and history, but to cry out our school songs as loudly as possible. In the daytime I played sports . . . at nighttime I seldom studied, but too often, nearly every night, went to the streets and drank *o-sake* [rice-wine].[12]

With Bohemian contempt for appearance, they wore soiled uniforms, torn caps, and long hair. They debated throughout the night about love, nihilism, and Marxism. In fact, the whole environment was conducive to student radicalism, and was a cause for concern by parents and Government.

In Japan, school and class relationships at middle and higher school often result in permanent ties of friendship. Even in girls' high, class ties are closely binding. Dr. Nakane, an acute observer of contemporary Japanese society, although naming membership in a company as a man's primary group, commanding his strongest loyalty, points to membership in informal groups of classmates or schoolmates as the second most important grouping. School friendships can be utilized quite effectively in getting a job, borrowing money, or arranging one's marriage. (In return, one is of course obliged to reciprocate.) This kind of relationship, according to Dr. Nakane, tends to have more functions and to be more effective than even kinship.[13]

"Old school tie" relationships formed in higher school are still highly regarded today. Many of the modern elite, graduates of the prewar *koto gakko* (higher school), strongly maintain that it was superior to any present-day school, particularly in character training. Dean Tsugio Ajisaka of Kyoto University's School of Education has remarked that character training and high morale emerged from the dormitory experience in which students had time and the stimulus to reflect, to read widely on their own, and to discuss ideas freely with roommates. He cited particularly the fact that students majoring in science and German often roomed with students majoring in literature and English. There was thus a cross-fertilization of ideas on real-life problems that cannot be easily duplicated in the educational system today.[14] It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the current leaders of Japan, products of the higher school and imperial university, look back fondly on their student days.

A much less celebrated type of school, at the higher school level, was the *daigaku yoka* (preparatory course to the university), a 2-year course generally attached to a private university (not shown in chart 1, p. 39). Many private universities, it should be noted, maintained a complete school system (beginning with the kindergarten level) of which the *diagaku yoka* was a part. It was thus possible for a student to spend his entire academic life on one campus, and to pass from one level to another without examination.[15] Approximately 30 such university preparatory schools were in existence before World War II.

Universities (Grades 15–17)

The Government universities (*daigaku*) offered a 3-year program in undergraduate studies culminating in a bachelor's degree (*gakushi*). The great Tokyo Imperial University stood at the apex of a hierarchy of nine imperial universities located in the major regions of the country and in the colonies of Korea and Formosa (Taiwan).[16] They were state-established and well-supported, the best of them ranking with the great universities of the world. They were expected to carry out national policy and comply with governmental leadership. Although originally cast in the American mold, they became after 1886 increasingly German oriented, with emphasis on two aspects—*specialization* and *research*. Since the higher schools provided the general education, the universities felt they could ignore it. The American system of course examinations given by the instructor was retained, but German concentration on the sciences and German methodology in many subjects, particularly medical training, predominated.

All imperial universities were multiple-faculty institutions. The two largest and most prestigious, Tokyo and Kyoto, each encompassed seven separately organized faculties (Agriculture, Economics, Engineering, Law, Literature, Medicine, and Science) in addition to research institutes. Outside the imperial university hierarchy the remaining Government universities were single faculty, the greatest being Tokyo Commercial University, now Hitotsubashi University. Most of the single-faculty schools specialized in either medicine or engineering.

The University Act of 1918 defined the purpose of the university as "the teaching of theory and practices necessary to the State, and the investigation of the principles of knowledge, and at the same time . . . the formation of character and the cultivation of the spirit of nationalism." [17] Despite the tradition of academic freedom at the university, accepted by Mori in the 19th century as the price for producing creative scholars and leaders, the Government in the 1930's attempted to coerce the academic community into falling into line behind the military. It constantly harried student radicals, and in 1935 it dishonored Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, a distinguished law professor at Tokyo Imperial University, for arguing that the Emperor was only the highest organ of the state, rather than an absolute independent entity. Most professors conformed thereafter.

Not only was there a hierarchy among universities, but also within each university. The imperial universities were organized on the basis of a "chair" system instead of by schools and departments. The number of chairs allotted to each university was fixed by Government decree. A particular chair in a certain subject consisted of one senior professor with an assistant professor and two or more instructors or assistants and other subordinates under him. The chair system, which remains in most government institutions today, compartmentalized the university into independent groups often vying for budget, office and library space, books, and laboratory equipment. Competition among scholars tended to keep them from sharing their knowledge or making their individual research available to their colleagues. Meetings of learned societies—the usual academic marketplace of ideas—were often formal and sterile. Narrow faculty cliques grew out of the strong status differences between universities, the chair system, and the longstanding custom by which a particular philosophy and methodology were handed down from a master teacher to his disciples.

Throughout the prewar period instructional methodology relied almost exclusively on lecturing, often at dictation speed, 2 hours at a time. Memorization of lecture materials was required of the students. This authoritarian method of instruction engendered a rigidity in the thinking of both teacher and student.

Literary departments (law, literature, and economics) of the universities prospered in the 1930's. Sixty-eight percent of all students were enrolled in these fields, while only 32 percent majored in the scientific disciplines (medicine, technology, science, and agriculture). The Government attempted to rectify this imbalance by augmenting the number of its scientific faculties, but with little success.

Graduation from Tokyo Imperial University or one of the other major institutions in the capital insured a good job in the Government bureaucracy or in business. Upon successful completion of their studies, Tokyo graduates were offered premium wages by the best firms. With this incentive in mind, all youth aspired to be admitted to Tokyo institutions.[18] One Fukuoka higher school graduate, whose widowed mother urged him to enter the perfectly respectable Kyushu Imperial University near home, rejected her pleas with the statement, "I am promising; I must go through Tokyo."

The best students in the empire congregated in Tokyo Imperial and in the other prestige universities in the Tokyo and Kyoto areas. The entrance examinations to the imperial universities in Tokyo and Kyoto were made increasingly difficult, to winnow out the best applicants. Those who failed went back to cramming and took the examination the next year. These unfortunate youth were called *ronin* (unemployed Samurai). An alternative was to attend a lesser institution.

The ranking order of institutions was clearly perceived by all: immediately beneath Tokyo was Kyoto University, followed by the other seven imperial institutions. The great private universities had their own well-understood hierarchy, with Waseda and Keio leading the list. A few single-faculty Government and "public" (i.e., municipal and local) universities brought the total number of universities, public and private, to 45 in 1937. More than half of these were in Tokyo.

The law required all imperial universities to have graduate schools. While no master's degree was available, each offered doctoral programs. The "doctors' course" consisted of seminars and independent research without regularly scheduled classes or systematic progression toward the degree. The candidate then took a teaching position for a number of years and continued his research and publication. Eventually he completed a dissertation. The degree was granted following a prolonged period of professional activity (perhaps as many as 20 years), and only after his senior faculty colleagues had arrived at a favorable consensus on the quality of his scholarly work. In reality, the Japanese doctorate bore a closer resemblance to the British Litt. D. than to the American Ph. D. The degree was granted only to the ablest scholars. Its holders took great pride in the small number of doctorates awarded.

Private Universities

Two factors provided the impetus for inaugurating private universities: (1) The imperial universities could not meet all the manpower needs for trained men in law, politics, and business; (2) there was a demand for higher institutions that would be free from Government control. To meet these needs, two great liberal leaders, Yukichi Fukuzawa and Shigenobu Okuma, following in the tradition of the innovative private *juku*, pioneered independent private colleges. Keio (called *Gijuku* at first) was initiated by Fukuzawa in 1858, and Waseda was begun by Okuma in 1882. Their purpose was to develop an elite that would counter Tokyo's select training. Both men advocated liberal Western ideas of academic freedom and independence of Government control, and their schools were important channels for new ideas and methods. Lack of early Ministry recognition of the institutions as universities (not granted until 1919) was actually advantageous, allowing evasion of Government control.

Because of Tokyo University's virtual monopoly on positions in the higher civil service from the 1870's to 1900, Keio and Waseda graduates were blocked from positions of leadership in the bureaucracy. Instead they turned to the private sector—Keio to banking, industry, and insurance, and Waseda to politics, business, and journalism. The two institutions specialized in business and law and permitted students to select their own courses.

Other private colleges were founded during the Meiji Period: Senshu (1880), Meiji (1881), Nihon (1889), and Hosei (1889). Christian missionary societies also established a number of higher education institutions: Rikkyo or St. Paul's (Episcopalian), founded in 1871 in Osaka and moved to Tokyo in 1912; Doshisha (Congregational), founded in Kyoto in 1875; Joshi Daigaku or Sophia (Roman Catholic), founded in Tokyo in 1913; and also a group of smaller Christian schools similar to church colleges in the American Midwest—Aoyama Gakuin (1883), Meiji Gakuin (1886), Tohoku Gaguin (1886), and Kansai Gakuin (1888). Affiliated with mission boards, which provided funds and supplied foreign teachers, they specialized in English and prepared many able graduates for further study abroad. In addition to providing theological training of Christian leaders for their own churches, they also trained students for business and politics.

Unlike the strong American private colleges such as Harvard, Yale, and Stanford, private schools in Japan have never attained the prestige of Government institutions or their assured financial support. Christian colleges, especially, have always waged an uphill battle for support and recognition. Some of the colleges founded by private citizens have admittedly not been of the best quality; but Japan's private colleges and universities as a group have contributed significantly in serving those in search of higher education. In 1940, 11 percent of the higher school students and more than 60 percent of the university students were attending private schools.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of private colleges and universities was in providing an academic environment different from that of the Government universities. Fukuzawa at Keio urged his students to cultivate independence and self-respect, and assert themselves in business and industry rather than depend on Government posts. Many private students did this and are now holding high positions. A recent governor of the Bank of Japan was a prewar Keio alumnus. A former foreign minister was a product of Meiji University, and a construction minister graduated from Chuo.

Women's Colleges

Women's colleges are exceptional in the Japanese educational world in that private institutions generally predominate over those of the Government. Missionaries must be credited with having pioneered in the field of women's higher education. Ferris Seminary, founded in Yokohama in 1870 by J. C. Hepburn (the first Protestant medical missionary in Japan), was the first of 43 schools for girls established by missionaries during the first two decades of the Meiji period. At that time they were mostly secondary-level institutions. Concurrently, the Government, on the advice of Dr. David Murray, was establishing normal schools for women.

Eminent Japanese private educators also founded colleges for women. The famous Tsuda English College was founded in 1900 by a Japanese woman graduate of Bryn Mawr, Miss Umeko Tsuda, who as a young girl had gone to America with the Iwakura Mission. Tsuda College specialized in teaching English. Teachers' certificates were awarded to its graduates by the Ministry without examination after 1906. The same year a Japanese woman doctor, Yayoi Yoshioka, founded Tokyo's Women's Medical College, which received Ministry recognition as a regular medical college in 1920. Japan Women's College was founded by a Christian convert, Jinzo Naruse, in 1901. Tokyo Women's Christian College was inaugurated in 1918; the father of former American Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer was a longtime teacher and administrator there.

Few girls went on to college in prewar days. Their professional options were confined to teaching (which attracted the largest number), pharmacy, and medicine. Above the girls' normal schools there were eventually three women's higher normal schools at Tokyo, Nara, and Hiroshima—all founded by the Government to train teachers for girls' high and girls' normal schools.

In 1937 there were a total of 50 women's colleges—8 of them Government-supported and 42 private, of which 12 were Christian mission schools. They were generally liberal arts institutions stressing language and literature, homemaking, and teacher training. A few women (210 in 1937) were admitted to the imperial universities of Tohoku, Hokkaido, and Kyushu, although none was accepted into the preferred institutions, Tokyo and

Kyoto. For the most part, the intellectual capabilities of half of the population were still being ignored.

Normal Schools

Teachers were so important to the process of mass education as well as indoctrination that they received special and separate treatment. Mori, in his 1886 reorganization of the school system along nationalistic lines, emphasized normal school training as a key to leading Japan to victory in international competition. He likened the training of teachers to the training of soldiers, and imposed strict military discipline on them. The National Government paid the expenses of students in the higher normal, while prefectural governments supported the trainees in prefectural normals. Students were said to have been impressed with the fact that as teachers they would be performing an important function for the state to which they owed a duty.

Mori's Imperial Ordinance on Normal Schools stipulated that "special care shall be taken to so train pupils [in normal school] as to develop in them the characteristics of obedience, sympathy, and dignity." [19] Prospective teachers were taught to be obedient to their superiors in school and government, sympathetic with students, and dignified before students and community. The Ministry of Education established a uniform curriculum for the normal schools, emphasizing morals training, military drill, and patriotism and nationalism. Military drilling of teacher-trainees was intended to enable them to give orders to their children in such a manner as to command absolute obedience. Students were required to live in dormitories under strict military discipline. Graduates were obligated to serve 10 years as teachers, the first 5 in a school assigned by the Government.

Thus the brief atmosphere of freedom that normal schools had enjoyed in the 1870's gave way to rigid authoritarianism. The term "normal school type" came to mean in prewar days an "authoritarian man," docile and submissive to authority but a martinet before his class. State subsidy of teacher-trainees helped form the image of the normal school (like the military academy) as the place for the higher education of the able poor. This in turn lowered its social status.

Mori's regulations on certification gave further evidence of the separateness of the teacher-training track. Teachers and principals of academic-track schools, middle and higher, were not required to take normal school training but were recruited from the imperial universities without examination. Teachers and directors of normal schools had to be graduates of higher normal schools; teachers and principals of elementary or higher elementary schools were recruited from among graduates of the ordinary normal schools. This reflected the European two-track system for teacher training in vogue in prewar Japan: for the academic secondary level, subject matter specialization generally without teacher education was considered appropriate preparation; for the elementary level, normal school preparation was thought to be adequate.

As of 1937 the normal school track was divided into four major types of instructions (see chart 1, p. 41):

1. **The ordinary normal school.** For training elementary teachers, the ordinary normal school included a first (or "A") section of 5 years, entered after higher elementary school, and a second (or "B") section of 2 years, entered after graduation from middle or girls' high school. Separate schools for men and women were required in each Prefecture.
2. **The youth normal school.** For training teachers for the youth schools, especially in vocational subjects, the 2- or 3-year youth normal school admitted graduates of vocational, middle, girls' high, or normal school who had completed at least 11 years of education (or the equivalent).
3. **The higher normal school.** For training teachers for the ordinary normal, middle, girls' high, and vocational schools, the higher normal school was a more advanced institution offering a 4- to 5-year course. Men and women were segregated in separate institutions.
4. **The two national universities of literature and science.** Located at Tokyo and Hiroshima, the two national universities of literature and science were graduate schools affiliated with the higher normal schools of Tokyo and Hiroshima, from which most of their students were drawn. Their aim was to promote research and advanced study in the arts and sciences and in education, and to prepare teachers for middle schools. Both had embraced progressive education early and had a wide influence on educational theory and administration.

Thus by the 1930's teacher education was well developed. The importance of research in professional education was realized, and it was being conducted at the graduate level at the two universities of literature and science (Tokyo and Hiroshima). Practice teaching was highly developed. Each normal school had an "attached" elementary school for observation or student-teaching under a teacher or administrator critic. Each higher normal school had an attached elementary and an attached middle school. Each women's higher normal school had an attached kindergarten, elementary, and girls' high school. Tokyo Imperial University, in conjunction with its teacher-education program, offered courses in educational psychology, history of education, and philosophy of education. Education had been professionalized, and liberal concepts had been introduced that, although often subordinated to nationalistic goals and finally suppressed in the 1940's, were never quite destroyed.

During World War II, normal training continued and three new higher normals were opened—at Kanazawa, for men; at Okazaki, for men; and at Hiroshima, for women. All prefectural normals were placed directly under the Ministry's control. The regulations for higher normals in 1942 indicated that "the essence of the national entity must be clarified, and together with a realization of the Empire's Mission, a keen consciousness of loyalty must be fostered, and leadership training for national accomplishments stressed . . . inculcating in the student a fervent interest in the teaching profession, faith in the national entity, and in imperial administrative policies." [20] The teachers and administrators who were operating the school system at the end of the war were products of this philosophy.

Technical Colleges

A chain of technical colleges (*semmon gakko*) provided training at the subprofessional level, similar to that offered in U.S. junior colleges. These 3- to 5-year single-department colleges engaged in practical preparation without concern for general education. Most were colleges of commerce or industry. The others included about a dozen colleges each of agriculture, fisheries, medicine, and pharmacy; and an additional few that specialized in music, art, textiles, foreign languages, theology (Buddhist, Shinto, and Christian), and physical education. Through these institutions one could become a doctor, dentist, engineer, architect, or pharmacist, but without an academic title or the full professional standing and status of a university graduate who earned a *gakushi* (bachelor's) degree.

The technical colleges generally served those unable to afford the university or pass its entrance examination. Thus, enrollment in the colleges was approximately 3 to 4 times greater than in the universities. About two-thirds of the colleges' enrollment were men. Transfer from these colleges to the academic track was difficult; less than 5 percent of the graduates succeeded in entering universities. So, for most students, the colleges were terminal. Though many of the institutions were good and highly specialized, none had the rank of university. The colleges mushroomed after World War I: 100 in 1920; 200 in 1930; and 300 in 1941. During World War II these institutions were used for the rapid training of technicians and medical personnel.

SUMMARY

The multitrack school system of prewar Japan resulted in wide inequalities of educational opportunity based on sex, residence, wealth, and other factors. However, it is a mark of achievement by the Nation that education in some form was available to all of its children and youth. Even at the higher education level, nearly all seeking advanced studies were accommodated somewhere.

During the first half of the Meiji period, Government policy had been the generating force for education, but between Japan's two early wars (with China in 1895 and then Russia in 1905) impetus was provided by public demand and supported by a rapidly developing economy. The resulting expansion of national wealth made it possible for the state to assume financial responsibility for education and to eliminate the burden of tuition at the compulsory level. Although the system was discriminatory against women and the poor, it drew from nearly every class of society those human resources that had a high potential for development. Because of this, Japan was quickly able to modernize and industrialize. By 1880 she had entered the "take-off" stage for modernization and by 1900 development was already well advanced. At least in the urban sector Japan was considered "modern" by 1920.

To the Japanese, education has had more significance as an aspect of "investment" than as a "consumption" expense. Since the Meiji Restoration, learning for its own sake, or as a means to realizing fuller lives, has been a secondary concern. Japan felt threatened by the West, and in its urgency to respond to the competitive challenge became a young nation in a hurry. Although its dynamic aggressiveness eventually ended in a disastrous military confrontation, its prewar investment in education paid rich dividends, enabling the defeated country to make a remarkable recovery and to achieve important technical triumphs in the postwar era.

NOTES

[1] Masako Shoji, "Preschool Systems in Japan," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas*, vol. 2 (1967), p. 107.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quoted in Victor N. Kobayashi's *John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought* (Ann Arbor, Mich., the University of Michigan School of Education, 1964), p. 57.

[4] Quoted in Kobayashi, op. cit., p. 29.

[5] Minoru Wada and Kiku Ishihara, "On the Character Training of Children in Japan," *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations* (Tokyo, The World Conference Committee of the Japan Education Association, 1938), vol. 5, p. 156.

[6] Translated in Herbert Passin's *Society and Education in Japan* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965), pp. 266–67.

[7] Tokiomi Kaigo, "Primary Education After the Meiji Era," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas*, vol. 2 (1967), p. 36.

[8] Translated from *Kindai Nihon Kyoiku Seido Shiryo Hensankai* (Editorial Committee for Historical Materials on the Recent Japanese Educational System), *Kindai Nihon Kyoiku Seido Shiryo (Historical Materials on the Recent Japanese Educational System)*, (Tokyo, Dai Nihon Yubeikai Kodansha, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 230–33.

[9] *Kunrei* (Directive) No. 19, Aug. 21, 1935, as translated in Civil Information and Education Section, SCAP, Special Report, *A History of the Educational Policy of the Ministry of Education as Evidenced by Directives and Instructions Issued 1871-1945*, p. 21. Mimeographed.

[10] Hugh Keeleyside and A. F. Thomas, *History of Japanese Education and Present Education System* (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1937), pp. 195–97.

[11] From student autobiographies written as class assignments for the author, when he taught in Japan in the 1930's.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1970), pp. 128–29.

[14] Author's interview, Kyoto, Apr. 22, 1968.

[15] Many progressive schools, refusing to bow to the Government's examination syndrome, had to set up such "self-enclosed" school systems, providing schooling from kindergarten through college. Likewise, many Christian schools established

their own complete system to free themselves from Government influences which they felt interfered with their aims.

[16] In order of authorization as imperial universities they were: Tokyo, 1886; Kyoto, 1897; Kyushu (in Fukuoka), 1903; Hokkaido (in Sapporo), 1903; Tohoku (in Sendai), 1909; Osaka, 1931; Nagoya, 1931; and overseas, Taihoku in Formosa and Keijo in Korea.

[17] Shigetaka Abe, "On Universities and Colleges in Present-Day Japan," in *Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations* (Tokyo, The World Conference Committee of the Japan Education Association, 1938), vol. 4, pp. 107–08.

[18] For a detailed sociological study of the relation of university education to achievement, see Passin, op. cit., ch. 6.

[19] Department of Education, *Ordinances, Notifications, and Instructions Relating to Education* (Tokyo, the Department [1887]), p. 7.

[20] SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1946), vol. 1, p. 285.

CHAPTER 3
REFORMS OF THE OCCUPATION PERIOD

The nation that had been so remarkably successful and had believed so implicitly in its own divinity and invincibility was defeated in 1945. It was physically devastated; its cities were demolished, its homes, temples, schools as well as industry were in ruins. Its farms were exhausted from want of fertilizer, its fishing fleets were destroyed. People were reduced to near starvation. An estimated 1,850,000 Japanese were dead. Public morale had collapsed. The citizens, nurtured in the Shinto faith that theirs was a divine land under a divine Emperor, now felt these beliefs had been proven false. The normally disciplined and determined Japanese were confused and dazed. Schools were closed and some 19 million schoolchildren were idle.

PHASE I: REFORM BY DIRECTIVE: SEPTEMBER 1945–MARCH 1946

Into this moral and political vacuum came the Allied occupation. The policy of the occupation forces, commanded by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, was firmly democratic. Their mandate was to carry out the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which said in part: "There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest." This was to be accompanied by removal of "all obstacles to the survival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established."

The U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy, drawn up by a State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee in Washington, spelled out, on the eve of the occupation, specific measures for implementing the Potsdam Declaration. It provided for military occupation of Japan, but directed Gen. MacArthur to work through the existing Government and Emperor without supporting them. Militarism and ultranationalism were to be eliminated for all time, especially from the school system. In their place, a democratic philosophy was to prevail, and people were to be encouraged to form independent democratic organizations. The basic policy for education became nothing less than the democratic reeducation of the total populace, and democratized schools were seen as the key instrument for accomplishing the necessary reorientation. Thus the scene was set for another major infusion of Western ideas—the third since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. (Earlier exposures to democratic education had been in the 1870's and in the 1920's.) The hope was to revive and build on these earlier influences.

The Japanese themselves seized the initiative in effecting a complete break with wartime practices. They abolished special measures introduced during the war, and ordered removal of militaristic material from textbooks. Occupation authorities, however, were not satisfied with these piecemeal reforms, and demanded instead a thorough overhauling of the education system.

Gen. MacArthur had installed a limited military government to govern Japan. The machinery for carrying out educational reform was a special staff section (1 of 12) established in General Headquarters (GHQ) in Tokyo and called the Civil Information and Education (CIE) Section. Its mission was to give the Japanese guidance in reorientation and reeducation. It was to advise Gen. MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) "on policies relating to public information, education, religion, and other sociological problems." The CIE was staffed for the most part by experienced educators—teachers in uniform drawn from the troops or civilian subject specialists quickly brought over from the United States. It alone had the authority to deal with the Ministry of Education.

The first phase of democratic reform focused on implementing in the field of education the policy originally stated in the Potsdam Declaration and spelled out in the U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan. The CIE issued directives to the Ministry of Education establishing principles and requiring action in carrying out the reforms. The initial policy, "reform by directive," aimed at liquidating the old nationalistic educational system and substituting one based on democracy. The two governing bodies, the American military government and the Japanese civil government, stood side by side with the Americans issuing the directives and the Japanese carrying them out. Orders traveled quickly down the well-worn Japanese channels, from Ministry to prefectural Governor to localities. The American military governmental chain of command extended downward from GHQ, SCAP in Tokyo, to the 8th Army Headquarters in Yokohama, to regional military government headquarters, and then to prefectural military government teams. In each of the 46 Prefectures a small military government team paralleled the Japanese prefectural government and supervised its performance in executing the directives. On each team a CIE "officer"—generally a civilian professional teacher hired by the Army—

was responsible for inspecting schools and "guiding and assisting" Japanese educators in reform.

Four major policy directives were issued during the first 4 months of the occupation.[1] The first, Administration of the Educational System of Japan, outlined the educational objectives and policies of the occupation, prohibited dissemination of militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology, required discontinuance of military education and drill, and demanded revision of textbooks. It also encouraged democratic educational concepts and practices. The second, the "screening directive," required each teacher to fill out a questionnaire on his prewar and wartime activities. This questionnaire was to be used as the basis for screening by a local committee and possible purging if he had been militaristic or ultranationalistic. The third, the "Shinto directive," disestablished Shintoism in schools and the state, stipulating its deletion from textbooks and teachers' manuals and prohibiting schools from taking students to Shinto shrines for worship. The fourth directive, issued on the last day of 1945, suspended the morals course in schools which had been the primary instrument for nationalistic indoctrination, and temporarily barred teaching of Japanese history and geography.

The next day, January 1, 1946, the Emperor issued an Imperial Rescript denying his divinity (thus destroying the basis for state Shintoism) and returning to the principles of the 1868 Charter Oath of Five Articles of the Meiji Emperor. This Oath contained the injunction, which had been reversed by the Imperial Rescript on Education issued in 1890, that "Knowledge shall be sought from all over the world." Thus consciously the Emperor was placing his seal of approval on the new movement of cultural diffusion and adoption of democratic forms from the West, and at the same time relating the reform introduced by the occupation to the initial period of modernization in the 1870's.

The first phase of reform was successfully accomplished with willing, sometimes eager Japanese cooperation. Among the general public there was universal revulsion for militarism. Citizens and teachers gladly abandoned all forms and practices that perpetuated it. The Japanese screened their own teachers, who numbered some half million. Each Prefecture installed a representative screening committee for public school teachers, while each university examined its own staff. The Minister of Education announced that he would suspend the pension rights of all teachers dismissed after a certain date, hastening the resignation of about 23 percent of the teaching force. An additional 1 percent was purged by the screening committees, for a total loss to the teaching corps of 119,700 teachers or 24 percent of the entire group. This gap had to be filled with new, temporarily certified recruits with a minimum of education and training. It was several years before the losses were recouped. The purge, though perhaps necessary to rid the schools of the most reactionary teachers, reflected a sad and tragic era, and inevitably resulted in injustices.

Shinto nationalism was effectively deleted from the curriculum with the prohibition of the morals, Japanese history, and geography courses. Suspension of the latter two courses was for only a relatively brief time, however. Geography was the first to have new texts prepared, and was reinstated 6 months after it was banned. The Japanese history course was resumed 9 months later, with new, scientifically accurate texts. Morals classes, on the other hand, were not revived during the occupation period. As for wartime texts in other subjects, material about the "divine nation" or material glorifying war were either inked or cut out, sometimes leaving only the margin of the page intact. As this proved ineffective, the old texts were pulped, and stopgap texts on rough newsprint, with deleted portions replaced by new passages, were printed and used during 1946.

The writing of democratic texts was accomplished by a curious collaboration, consisting of Japanese authors working with subject-matter specialists brought in from the United States for this purpose. Since neither author nor advisor knew the other's language, the text had to be translated into Japanese and English several times before it was satisfactory to both sides. Texts in most fields were rewritten and ready for use in 1947. Moreover, the 44-year-old system of issuing uniform national textbooks was abolished in favor of a new plan of private publication with official inspection.

Thus, because of Japanese compliance, and only because of it, the four directives issued in the fall of 1945 were dramatically successful in liquidating the undesirable vestiges of wartime education within a relatively short period. This rapid progress made it possible to move ahead expeditiously in the reconstruction effort.

PHASE II:
REFORM BY GUIDANCE AND ASSISTANCE:
MARCH 1946–APRIL 1952

Transition toward a more positive phase of reform policy was started early in January 1946 when the CIE, GHQ issued a directive announcing the forthcoming visit of a U.S. Education Mission for the purpose of advising on reform measures. The Japanese Government was instructed to provide a counterpart to the mission—a committee of leading Japanese educators who would participate in planning the reform. The mission of 27 distinguished American educators, representing many different disciplines as well as religious and ethnic backgrounds, spent the month of March 1946 studying problems of educational reconstruction and working closely with the counterpart Japanese body.

The consequent report covered all aspects of Japanese education: Aims, school administration, curriculum, teacher education, adult education, and higher education. All suggestions except those on the last of these topics were promptly carried out. They included:

1. Introduction of freedom and democratic participation in education.

2. Decentralization of Ministry of Education control.
3. Substitution of social studies for the morals course.
4. A 6–3–3 ladder with the first 9 years compulsory and free for all children.
5. Greater emphasis on physical education and vocational education at all levels.
6. Independence of private schools.
7. Change in methods of student guidance.
8. Development of adult education.
9. Reorganization of higher education and liberalization of its curriculum by introducing general education.
10. Broadened teacher education through integration into a 4-year university.
11. Romanization of the Japanese language.

The report was a synthesis of contemporary views on democratic education, drawn from American experience. Gen. MacArthur pointedly told the Japanese that they were not to regard it as a blueprint for reform, but only as a set of suggested guidelines. Nevertheless, it was accepted by the Japanese (and the CIE at the operational level) as a series of requirements that had to be met. Consequently, all but one of its recommendations were put into practice, the exception being language reform. The Japanese were pleased at the concern over their problems shown by these outstanding American educators, many of whose names were already well known in Japan. Teachers who had subscribed to the democratic educational ideas of Dewey's time were now free to espouse the new trends. Many did so with enthusiasm, as if they were the fulfillment of their own longstanding dreams.

> It showed the way to establishing democratic education on the basis of individual worth and human dignity instead of the pre-war education which provided youth with an anti-rational spirit and feudalistic 'obedience-ethics' under the name of loyalty and patriotism. Thus the report was welcomed and, in fact, looked forward to in anticipation by the general public, and some of the educational scholars favored it and even rejoiced that such a precious document should be produced to guide Japan's education and the better future of Japan.[2]

The mission was a success because it was in the pattern of the initial modernization of the Meiji period, when knowledge was sought throughout the world. Now it was being brought to them without their asking for it, but it was welcome nevertheless. The Japanese saw the mission as being "above the military and not under its control," [3] and therefore to be differentiated from the occupation. The members were looked upon as experts who had come in the interests of Japan bearing the latest ideas of the West. Mission personnel treated the Japanese educators as colleagues and equals and the Japanese in turn were eager to accept the advice of the Americans.

The Japanese counterpart of the U.S. Education Mission was elevated to Cabinet rank beyond control of the Ministry of Education, and renamed the Japanese Education Reform Council (JERC). Consisting of 49 members, it was drawn from Japan's finest liberal leadership to study and make recommendations on every major issue proposed by the mission. Members perceived themselves as carrying out the unfinished "renaissance" of early Meiji.[4] JERC became the primary source of education reform policy in the new Japan.

The three primary concerns of the JERC were (1) to develop a new statement of official educational policy to replace the defunct 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, (2) to reorganize the school structure into a single track and 6-3-3 ladder, and (3) to democratize educational administration. They considered these problems in a joint steering committee composed of three members each from the CIE, the JERC, and the Ministry of Education. Ministry representatives drafted laws and conveyed them to the Diet for action. For the first time educational policy and practice were referred to the duly elected representatives of the people. This was in contrast to the prewar system in which edicts had been summarily handed down to the people in the form of an Imperial Rescript or an order of the Ministry. Now once a bill was passed by the Diet, it was enforced in the local schools by the prefectural and local governments, with the CIE officer of the prefectural military government team exercising surveillance over its execution.

The ultimate legal basis for the new educational system was the Constitution adopted by the Diet in November 1946. Three articles dealt specifically with education: Article 20—"The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education;" article 23—"Academic freedom is guaranteed;" and article 26, which stated:

> All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability. All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

Other articles provided for fundamental human rights, freedom of thought and conscience, and the "right to maintain minimum standards of wholesome and cultural living."

The Fundamental Law of Education: 1947

The educational guarantees of the Constitution were implemented by a series of basic educational laws, most important of which was the Fundamental Law of Education (appendix A, p. 349). Based on the first CIE directive ("The Administration of the Educational System of Japan") and the report of the U.S. Education Mission to Japan, it was initiated by the JERC, drawn up as a bill by the Ministry of Education, and passed by the Diet to become law in March 1947. It replaced the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education as the definitive statement of educational policy and became the charter for democratic education in the new Japan. It stands as a remarkable document expressing strongly democratic principles, in sharp contrast to the Imperial Rescript.

From Shinto-Confucian "loyalty and filial piety" in the Imperial Rescript, designed to achieve national unity under the father Emperor, the Fundamental Law shifted the goals of education to "full development of personality," individual dignity, and an "independent spirit" to effect creative citizenship. The Rescript underscored duties; the Law stressed rights. In the Rescript, the highest injunctions regarding education were to develop oneself intellectually and morally to better serve the state, and to offer one's life courageously if needed to guard the Imperial Throne. By contrast, the Law stressed the constitutional rights of academic freedom, equal educational opportunity according to ability, and free compulsory education for 9 years. No longer did the state require of the individual self-sacrifice, but simply to contribute towards "building a peaceful state and society."

This was a humanistic statement couched in distinctly democratic terms. It did not, however, carry the warm emotional overtones of the Rescript, which had been built up over the years. Traditional Japanese resisted the new legislation and the Diet passed it only under pressure. In spite of opposition, it did embody the convictions of the Japanese Education Reform Council,[5] and it was accepted by most teachers, who welcomed its guarantees of freedom after so many years of suppression. It was soon espoused with enthusiasm by the Japan Teachers Union (JTU).

The School Education Law of March 1947 (appendix B, p. 353) implemented the principles of the Fundamental Law of Education, providing in detail for organization of a new school structure on a 6-3-3-4 basis similar to that of many parts of the United States. It also delineated specific goals for each level of education. With enactment of these two laws and a series of educational statutes such as the Social Education Law and the School Board Law, a major reform program in education was well under way.

A Ministry publication proclaimed as follows:

> As the initial reactor for a chain for reforms, the Fundamental Law of Education brought about the decentralization of public education; the establishment of the 6–3–3–4 school system; reorientation of curricula, courses of study, textbooks and teaching methods; and total reorganization of educational administration in this country.[6]

Supplementary provisions to the School Education Law concerned technical colleges (1961) and junior colleges (1964). (See appendix C, p. 363).

Decentralization of Ministry Control

Given the American background of local school control, it was only natural that the occupation saw in the Ministry's pyramid of power a major obstacle to the reform program. Accordingly, decentralization became one of its priority concerns. The U.S. Education Mission had pointed out the dangers of a centralized system, as viewed from the democratic tradition:

> An educational system, controlled by an entrenched bureaucracy recruited from a narrow group, which reduces the chances of promotion on merit, which provides little opportunity for investigation and research, and which refuses to tolerate criticism, deprives itself automatically of the means of progress . . . . Experience indicates that the centralized system is more vulnerable from the standpoint of manipulation and exploitation by powers either outside or inside the system . . . .
>
> The control of the instructional program should be more dispersed than at present; vertical lines of authority and responsibility should be definitely broken at certain levels of the system.
>
> . . . This means that many present controls affecting curricula, methods, materials of instruction and personnel shall be transferred to prefectural and local school administrative units.[7]

The functions of the new, less powerful Ministry should include, the mission suggested, provision of expert consultative services in the various educational fields; establishment of objective standards for the schools; publication of outlines, suggestions, and teaching guides; and distribution of educational funds provided by the National Government.

In carrying out the decentralization of administration, the Japanese Government passed three laws: The Board of Education Law in July 1948, the Ministry of Education Establishment Law in May 1949, and the Private School Law in December 1949.

Boards of education.—To place control of schools in the hands of the people, the mission recommended that boards of education be elected by popular vote at both prefectural and local levels. This was so incongruent with Japanese experience that nearly all factions opposed it. The teachers' unions feared that in rural areas the absolute power of traditional leaders, landlords, and the elite in determining who was elected to any post would lead to permanent control of schools by this group. The Ministry argued that national guidance and control was necessary in view of the chaotic postwar conditions, and that local citizens were not prepared to accept responsibility for education. It felt that citizen indifference might permit education to fall into the hands of special interest groups on the left, and consequently that educational standards would deteriorate.

Despite the combined appeal of the Ministry and the unions for appointed rather than elected boards, the occupation authorities forced a somewhat modified School Board Law through the Diet. Presumably, this would give grass roots control of schools to the people.

The general populace, however, had very little idea of the purposes of a school board. A nationwide information program was mounted at the instigation of SCAP to explain its goals, but a still inadequately informed public went to the polls on October 5, 1948, and elected school boards in all the 46 Prefectures, the 5 largest cities, and 46 smaller cities, towns, and villages. It was a Conservative landslide. Moderate or Conservative candidates won 72 percent of all seats, Progressive or Liberals captured 26 percent, while radicals gained only 2 percent. About 42 percent of all elected members were also schoolteachers, despite frantic efforts by SCAP to prevent this.[8] Representatives of the Japan Teachers Union (JTU) in the Diet had insisted that teachers be allowed to run for the boards, and that board members be paid for their services. Both demands were approved.

Four years later, in a second national election, almost 10,000 local boards were voted into office. The prefectural boards were the most important, having full responsibility for prefectural schools (senior high schools and special schools for the handicapped), as well as for supervising and advising local boards. For example, they were empowered to certify local teachers and administrators and give professional advice and guidance to local boards. The latter in turn were responsible for educational operations, including establishing and maintaining schools, determining curriculums, choosing textbooks, and providing inservice training for teachers. The duties common to both the prefectural and local boards were selecting a superintendent of education from among those who held certificates, appointing and dismissing principals and teachers in their respective schools, and preparing the education budget for submission to the assembly through the local mayor or Governor.

The boards had serious weaknesses: (1) Since more than one-third of those elected were teachers (and JTU members), they were able occasionally to dominate the boards, producing a situation where teachers would be on both sides of the bargaining table;[9] (2) they had no independent tax sources, being dependent for funds on a budget voted by their respective legislatures; and (3) they often constituted a new educational bureaucracy, voting themselves salaries (and perquisites) equivalent to those of the legislators, and sometimes interfering with the superintendent's administration of the schools. The concept of a lay board donating services as a public duty was not understood.

A year after the election, the boards were not yet functioning as prescribed by law. The superintendent in most cases had assumed predominant control, both of policy and operations. He acted first, then secured the board's approval. The legislatures often slashed the education budgets and the boards had little recourse.[10] Also, the Ministry's influence could never be effectively eliminated, for it continued to pay half the salaries of all public school teachers. When times were hard and positions scarce, principals and teachers were inclined to determine what would be acceptable to the Ministry before taking action. The habit of looking to Tokyo for guidance proved to be deeply ingrained.

Dissatisfaction with the elected boards came from both ends of the political spectrum—from the teachers' unions who held that boards were the tools of the conservative government, and from the Conservatives who pointed to the strong teacher-union (JTU) influence on some boards. School boards thus became a political football. With little public understanding of their function and no strong defenders, they were doomed from the outset, and never realized their potential for directing education and making the public aware of the opportunities and responsibilities of a democratically controlled school system.

An important innovation under the Board of Education Law was that teacher-consultants would replace the much-feared former school inspectors. These new supervisors were specifically limited to giving guidance to teachers and making recommendations for improvement. They could no longer exercise control over teacher personnel or give them orders. At the beginning, many former inspectors became teacher-consultants and made a satisfactory adjustment to their new role. Other new consultants were master teachers promoted from the ranks on merit. They were closest to the problems and best able to advise and stimulate teachers to develop their own philosophy and teaching methods. A certification system was adopted that required teacher-consultants to attain higher professional standards than those of regular teachers, and the Ministry and the occupation made available frequent opportunities for inservice training.

A major difficulty, however, was that there were never enough teacher-consultants, and they were usually inundated with paperwork. Initially there were only 6 to 10 assigned to a Prefecture. With several hundred schools to cover and several thousand teachers to serve, they were widely dispersed and were never able to make their rounds completely. Thus, instead of providing leadership, through workshops and so forth, they were often tied to their desks by administrative responsibilities.

The new Ministry of Education.—Another major step in decentralizing and transforming the Ministry's function into an "advisory and stimulating" capacity was enactment of the Ministry of Education Establishment Law. In this law the Ministry's powers and functions were redefined to conform to the democratic principles expressed in the School Education Law and the Board of Education Law. No longer was the Ministry an organ of state control: its monopoly over the writing and publication of textbooks, its authority to issue many classes of teaching certificates, and its centralized handling of promotions and demotions were terminated. Henceforth, the Ministry was to be responsible mainly for advisory, informational, and research functions, similar to the basic activities of the U.S. Office of Education, although it also had direct jurisdiction over certain national schools, universities, and research and scientific institutes.

The structure of the Ministry was simplified to consist of a secretariat and five bureaus, with supporting sections to execute specialized tasks. There were, in addition, 18 high-level advisory councils, which could be called upon at any time to research special problems and advise the Ministry on policy.

The various Ministers of Education during the occupation were professional scholars and educational statesmen, a few of whom had been critics of the military regime in prewar days. Their tenure in office tended to be brief, militating against continuity of policy and permanence of influence. As in other countries, political considerations became increasingly important in their selection, and, as soon as the occupation ended, the post of Minister of Education became once again a clearly political appointment. This led to the JTU's allegations that political appointees as ministers patently cannot be politically neutral, as is required by law of all teachers.

The Private School Law.—The third legal stride toward decentralization was passage of the Private School Law, which purported to give a measure of autonomy to private schools. The law provided for establishing in each Prefecture a 10- to 20-man private school council to consider matters relating to private elementary and secondary schools. The Governor appointed the members of the council, who were drawn primarily from private schoolteachers and administrators. At the higher education level, the Minister in Tokyo appointed a 20-man private university council to serve under his jurisdiction and advise him on matters concerning private universities all over the country. The national council was composed of representatives from private universities. The councils passed upon applications for opening private schools, forwarding their recommendations to the Governor (or Minister, in the case of application for a university), who made the final decision in such cases. The Governor (or Minister, at the national level) also retained the authority to abolish a school, but he consulted the appropriate councils before taking action. In the case of universities, the Minister was also given power to approve addition of new departments or graduate schools, or expansion of operations, particularly a change in staff and student quota.

Furthermore, the Government was authorized to provide assistance to schools through subsidies or loans, and to make grants to professors' mutual aid associations. A private school curriculum was required to meet Ministry standards, but the school's founders were responsible for curriculum content and operation of the school.

Other Reform Measures

While the legal and administrative framework for education was being revised, attention was also being given to an interrelated group of structural and curricular reforms, many of which were aimed at the occupation's primary goal of equalizing educational opportunities to strengthen the new democratic society. These reforms included the following:

1. Consolidating the five school tracks into a single track.
2. Extending compulsory schooling by 3 years.
3. Developing the comprehensive senior high school.
4. Initiating part-time and extension or correspondence education at the secondary and higher education levels.
5. Introducing coeducation at all levels.

6. Increasing the number of national universities to provide at least one in each Prefecture.
7. Establishing junior colleges.
8. Requiring general education in the college curriculum.
9. Giving teacher education higher prestige by incorporating it into the regular university.
10. Introducing vocational education and guidance at all levels from elementary through junior college.
11. Making a number of innovative changes in the lower school curriculum.

The single track.—The first major step in eliminating discrimination against the majority of children on the basis of wealth, social position, and sex was to change the complicated prewar school structure, with its five-track pattern above the elementary level, into a single-track educational ladder that could be scaled by all Japanese youth. As part of this change, a new type of institution, the junior high, was introduced. American advisors pointed out that the latter conformed logically to child growth and development, permitting adolescents (both boys and girls) with their special needs to be better served. Moreover, the addition of more than a million new students at the now compulsory junior high level could best be handled by instituting a specialized school.

The junior high schools were built from 1947 through 1949, a time of great poverty, when Japan's economy was still prostrate. The hardships visited on local communities in providing buildings and staff were onerous, but through great sacrifices the job was accomplished by 1950. Being a new institution, the junior high school was free from the conservatism and traditionalism of the old middle school. It could break out of the mold of the old curriculum, which was geared to the higher school and university examination system, and could structure a program to meet the needs of a particular community. The complete elimination of class and sex distinctions at the secondary level contributed greatly to broadening educational opportunity.

Extended compulsory schooling.—The nationalistic school reform on the eve of war in 1941 had raised the compulsory years from 6 to 8, and, although this provision was not enforced because of the conflict, the higher requirement was on the books and was accepted. Despite the Nation's destitute state at the end of the war, so great was the value placed on education that the people supported the occupation proposal of a phased expansion of the compulsory years of school from 7 years in 1947 to 8 in 1948, and 9 in 1949. The Ministry protested this speed, requesting 10 to 12 years to accomplish the extension, but the CIE demanded immediate action, and it was carried out. When taxpayer groups and some industrialists later proposed cutting back on the 9 years of compulsory education to economize, the public, supported by the Japan Teachers Union and the press, raised an immediate outcry and halted the move.

Comprehensive high schools.—Senior high schools, which had previously been either vocational or academic, were frequently converted into comprehensive schools. The old vocational agricultural schools, for example, were made nominally comprehensive by adding the 38-unit minimum national curriculum of general education subjects necessary for university preparation, while academic high schools became more comprehensive by adopting one or more of the vocational streams. Many rural vocational schools were converted in order to meet the wide variety of needs in local communities. It was recognized, however, that specialized schools might suit the needs of city young people better; so in cities, where schools were closer together and both kinds were accessible to most students, vocational and academic senior high schools were often allowed to remain separate institutions.

In any event, the comprehensive school's purpose of bridging the gap between the manual and mental worker did not conform to the Japanese tradition. Although many vocational schools became nominally comprehensive, there was never any enthusiasm for this reform, and they soon reverted once again to the role of specialized vocational schools.

Part-time and correspondence education.—To provide additional opportunities for young people who were unable to continue their full-time education beyond the compulsory years, the School Education Law called for Government establishment of part-time schools in 1948. Regular high school plants and staff were utilized. Although a youth needed 4 or more years to complete the regular 3-year course on a part-time basis, he could secure the same courses as in full-time high schools, with the same credit toward graduation. For the convenience of farming and laboring youth, sessions were held at night, during vacations, or during slack farming seasons. Branch schools were also established in rural villages, making available either college preparatory work, or, more commonly, agricultural and homemaking courses. Facilities were inferior, good teachers were scarce, and the students were often too tired to learn well, but despite these problems the system was widely used. By the end of the occupation, 22.6 percent of the total number of senior high students were in part-time schools. Correspondence education at the junior and senior high schools and universities was also initiated in 1948 to provide educational opportunity for demobilized soldiers, the sick, and working youth too far from schools.

Both part-time schools and correspondence education encountered prejudice from the outset. They were held in low esteem by the general public. There was discrimination by employers in hiring the graduates. They were refused entrance examinations for positions by many companies on the grounds that their preparation had been inadequate. This frustrated the ambitious among the poor, and wasted their talents. Yet the Government, which could have remedied the situation to some extent by increasing the financial support of part-time education, was slow to do so.

Coeducation.—The establishment of coeducation was certainly one of the most effective reforms from the point of view of achieving greater equality of educational opportunity. A great educational statesman, Dr. Tamon Maeda, appointed Minister of Education 3 days after Japan's surrender, in an address to the prefectural Governors urged immediate educational reforms, including "raising the level of female education to cope with the realization of women's participation in politics." A New General Plan of Female Education Reform was later drawn up by the Government to provide equal educational opportunity to men and women, raise female education to the level of men's education, and further mutual respect between men and women.[11]

The U.S. Education Mission had strongly recommended coeducation as a measure of economy as well as to establish equality among the sexes. The JERC accepted it as desirable through the junior high, but questioned it at the senior high, where "pupils' feelings are unstable." The Fundamental Law noted vaguely that coeducation "shall be recognized in education," thus permitting but not requiring it.

Coeducation was immediately implemented in the elementary schools after the war, and girls were taught in the same classes and from the same texts as boys. At the junior high level, where coeducation was made mandatory, it was totally effected within 2 years—by 1949. At the senior high level, where it was not compulsory, acceptance was slower. Many older Japanese—especially men—opposed it violently, since traditional moral standards had kept boys and girls apart from the age of 7 years. The public, however, gradually came to "show approval for the results of coeducation." [12] As of 1949, partly because of the need to tighten economic belts and partly because of growing acceptance, some 55 percent of Government senior high schools were already coeducational, and the percentage of nonsegregated institutions continued to rise steadily thereafter.

As coeducation expanded, a growing number of girls continued to the senior high level. At college level, where education had largely been denied them, it was also now easily available for the first time. Thirty-four of the former women's colleges were recognized as universities; the rest of the almost 200 public and private universities became officially coeducational.

The older prestige institutions, such as the former imperial universities, however, were still aggressively conservative in this matter, and restricted the enrollment of women to about 5 or 6 percent of the student body. On the surface, it appeared that women were not able to compete successfully with men in the entrance examinations, but the real underlying reason for this situation was that girls were not motivated to prepare themselves as rigorously as boys, whose whole careers depended on "entering the narrow gate" of the university.

At the junior college level, however, women found their *métier,* and far exceeded the male enrollment, constituting about 80 percent of the total.[13] There they often majored in homemaking to prepare for marriage. By public consensus this was the extent to which women should be encouraged to travel along the academic path.

Equality of educational opportunity for both sexes, now authorized by law, was thus in effect in the compulsory schools and well advanced at higher levels by 1952. It gave promise of being an enduring reform.

Expansion of the university system.—Prewar Japanese universities were elitist and hierarchical. At the same time they were advanced institutions with a proud tradition of German-influenced scholarship. Research and specialization were the major interests; general education was considered to be the province of the preparatory "higher schools."

The U.S. Education Mission, in order to give both men and women freedom of access on the basis of merit to all levels of higher education, recommended providing more colleges and universities, broadly distributed throughout the Nation. It also urged providing general education; i.e., liberal arts, as a requirement in the university lower division to give students a broader humanistic education. In addition, it recommended removal of Government restraints on university administration and a guarantee of academic freedom for professors.

In response to these recommendations, the universities were reorganized in 1949. The former 3-year institutions at grades 15 through 17 began to offer 4-year programs at grades 13 through 16, as in the United States. In the process, clusters of specialized and overlapping institutions of higher learning in the same area, such as universities, colleges, technical institutes, normal schools, and higher schools (averaging eight to a Prefecture), were consolidated into one "national university" (*kokuritsu daigaku*) similar to the American State university. At least one consolidated institution of this kind was established in each Prefecture. The various component parts of the new institutions remained on their own often remote from one another—e.g., Shinshu University in Nagano Prefecture had departments scattered in six widely separated places around the Prefecture and was dubbed the "Octopus University." In all, some 250 institutions were reorganized into a unified system of 68 national 4-year universities, offering general education and teacher education as well as the usual disciplines. In addition, prefectural and local governments were authorized to establish their own "local" or "public" universities, and private individuals and agencies could inaugurate "private universities." All types of universities were granted substantial autonomy. Article 58 of the School Education Law (appendix B, pp. 359–60) read: "The president shall govern all the affairs of the University and supervise all the staff . . . ." A faculty meeting was to be organized in each institution "to discuss and deliberate on important matters . . . ." (Article 59, appendix B.)

The strength of these universities varied greatly. Two-thirds had previously been only technical colleges or normal schools, and only 25 percent had previously enjoyed full university status. Now attainment of such status suddenly became possible, contingent simply upon meeting the minimum standards set forth by the new University Accreditation Association. Lack of funds, however, often presented obstacles. Many of the new universities, especially those in the rural Prefectures, experienced difficulties in upgrading themselves, and are still not of university caliber in the strict sense of the word.

It was the view of the occupation that a smooth transition from the old university system to the new required a private, American-type accreditation association, composed of the universities themselves, to work out procedures for accreditation and chartering and to develop standards for both general academic and professional curriculums.

The Ministry had formerly fixed all standards for establishment or organizational change in universities according to its own unpublished regulations. It was the recommendation of the U.S. Education Mission that decentralization of Ministry power over higher education be effected by means of an accreditation association. This met with opposition from the Ministry and the old-line universities, both of whom guarded their power jealously. A compromise was reached by establishing two agencies: (1) The University Chartering Committee (later "council") as a part of the Ministry, to inspect and evaluate universities and grant provisional approval; and (2) the Japanese University Accreditation Association (JUAA), a voluntary association of national, public, and private institutions that would set optimal and minimal standards to improve the quality of the universities. The more important of the two was the University Chartering Committee, which made all the final decisions. So that it would not be blatantly a Ministry organ, and thereby incur the displeasure of the reform group, it was decided that half of the 45-man committee would be members recommended by the nongovernmental JUAA. Also, in judging applicant institutions, the University Chartering Committee used standards formulated by the JUAA.

Inspection was initiated in the academic year 1948-49. At this time universities had not yet recovered from the war, and conditions were such that the University Chartering Committee had to be generous in its appraisals. Provisional charters were granted, on condition that minimum standards would be met within 2 to 5 years. Students were already hammering on the doors of the new institutions, and the committee felt compelled to yield to the pressure to admit them. As a result, some weaker institutions were approved. Some would-be universities even temporarily borrowed the private libraries of their professors to make up a library that would satisfy the inspectors. In the eyes of the public, the important step was the first one, the granting of the charter, which launched the opening of the university. The people were less concerned about accreditation. According to the rules, 5 years were to elapse before an applicant institution was eligible for full accreditation, and then the inspection and approval was to be on an individual faculty (i.e., department) basis.

Though less influential than the University Chartering Committee, the

JUAA did contribute to university reform. It set about developing standards that would insure each student comprehensive preparation, including general education as well as professional training. Its decisions on the directions of higher education are still in effect. University work was to be measured in terms of "credits," with the minimum number of credits for a bachelor's degree established at 124. Working with professional councils and experts in various fields, the JUAA established basic curriculums in all technical and professional areas. It prompted the increase of the length of medical school education from 4 to 6 years. Standards for physical plant, faculty, library facilities, and financial structure were made flexible in consideration of the difficult economic problems faced by many of the institutions. On the basis of these standards, the 46 original member universities examined themselves. In July 1952, 36 of these universities became the first accredited members of the JUAA after having passed the screening standards of the JUAA's constitution.

The Minister of Education retained great power over the university curriculum. All modifications in program, addition or deletion of courses, addition of new departments and new degrees, and even the appointment of new staff had to be approved in Tokyo. Such control, and the survival of the chair system from prewar times, meant that the reform of higher education was still incomplete. But some progress had been made; there were national universities in every Prefecture, bringing opportunity in reach of rural youth. The integration of normal schools and technical schools into the national universities had upgraded the respective offerings of these schools. Discrimination on the basis of sex, social position, and a student's previous high school had been reduced. The monopoly of Tokyo University over civil service appointments had diminished: in 1950 Tokyo University graduates gained only 45 percent of the 429 new civil service appointments, compared to 89 percent in 1935.[14]

Junior colleges.—Some of the nearly 600 postsecondary institutions existing in 1949, such as the weaker prewar technical colleges, did not have the facilities to meet the minimum standards of the JUAA for 4-year universities, and were about to be refused the right to open under the new system. Occupation authorities thought they should be content to become senior high schools, but local pride demanded elevation to the university status. One proposed solution, generally acceptable to all parties, was to give them a new junior college status. At this time, there was an insistent demand by certain industrialists for a 2-year industrial training school similar to the former technical college. Consequently, on the advice of the JERC and at the insistence of the Minister of Education, the School Education Law was amended to allow a "temporary" system of 2- and 3-year junior colleges. Minimum standards were fixed, and at the beginning (in 1950) 148 institutions of this type were approved.

The position of the junior colleges in the educational framework was initially tenuous for several reasons: (1) The occupation, disapproving of them as a revival of the old, narrow technical colleges, had not included them in the initial reform structure; (2) the law authorizing them granted only "temporary" status as higher institutions; and (3) the name given them was *tanki daigaku* ("short-term university"), which held low prestige. Old-line professors stigmatized them as "half-universities."

Despite unfavorable beginnings, junior colleges flourished. They developed primarily in cities; most were private institutions, and three-fourths of these were for women. They were intended to be terminal and were almost completely so. Although the School Education Law permitted graduates to transfer to universities, students found it difficult to do so because the 2-year institutions were not able to provide training of a caliber equivalent to the lower division of a university. Even in cases where the transfer credits were theoretically accepted, the student was required to undergo rigorous transfer examinations. As a result, he was often actually denied the opportunity for advanced study.

During the 2-year junior college course, the student was required to take 62 units of credit, of which the first 20 were in general education. Some junior colleges that were established primarily to teach technical subjects objected to the general education requirement, since it cut deeply into the time for technical training. Eventually it was reduced to 12 hours for the 2-year schools (4 each in mathematics, the humanities, and the natural sciences) and 18 hours for the 3-year junior colleges. By the end of the occupation, the educational system had 205 junior colleges: 7 were national; 31, public (prefectural and municipal); and 167, private.

Strengthened general education at the college level.—Based on a broad and integrated program in language, science, social science, and humanities, general education was to be strengthened by using an instructional methodology calculated to stimulate thought and help a student improve his communication skills, select and appraise values, and handle new experiences. The U.S. Education Mission noted that the traditional prewar university curriculum had been characterized by—

> . . . too little opportunity for general education, too early and narrow a specialization, and too great a vocational or professional emphasis. A broader humanistic attitude should be cultivated to provide more background for free thought and a better foundation on which professional training may be based.[15]

This was the first challenge to overspecialization of the university-trained scientist. Accordingly, the JUAA mandated general education as part of the minimum standards for accreditation. In 1949 it required that 36 of the total 124 units needed for graduation must be in the field of general education—12 each in the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences.

Universities introduced the necessary courses as soon as they could, but the tradition of departmentalization and specialization was opposed to the innovation. The specialists, prewar-trained, reluctantly accepted general education as preliminary to their own professional subjects—but not as a really integral part of a student's education. General education instructors, on the other hand, complained that laboratory facilities for introductory courses in the natural sciences were insufficient, especially in the private universities and new national institutions. Books and library facilities for general education were also in short supply.

Universities that had developed from the prewar "higher schools" (which had in the past specialized in general education) promptly assigned responsibility for the liberal arts courses to faculty members held over from the higher school. The older higher schools were often in a different location from the new university campus, and the physical separation helped to perpetuate segregation of the new general education departments and to militate against its integration with the university. It was thereby commonly relegated to inferior status, and a lower prestige was accorded its faculty. Responsibility for the general courses was given to the younger faculty members, and older, established professors generally disdained to teach them, apprehensive that this would brand them as second-rate scholars. Introduction of mandatory general education into all university programs was thus a controversial policy from its inception during the occupation period.

Teacher education and reeducation.—The postwar task of teacher education and reeducation was herculean. The loss of one-fourth of the teaching corps as a result of the occupation purge meant that thousands had to be recruited and trained rapidly through a brief training course. A special problem was staffing the new junior high schools and replacing elementary teachers who moved up to the junior high level.

Prewar normal graduates, many of whom because of the nature of their training were authoritarian in approach, had to become the democratic teachers of the new Japan. A 3-year plan to reeducate all teachers in the new laws, philosophy, and techniques was set in motion in 1947 through the cooperation of normal school teachers, Ministry officials, CIE specialists at GHQ, and CIE officers in the field. The Ministry, aided by the CIE, mounted an inservice course by radio, beamed to schools. "Short-session courses," ranging from 2- to 3-day conferences to 10-day workshops and institutes, were held regionally around the country. Teachers were required to attend one of these inservice retraining courses to qualify for a regular teacher's license. Given often under difficult conditions, the courses were attended by teachers who traveled for hours on crowded trains, carrying a tiny rice ration that had to last them for the period of the conference.

During such a conference at Doshisha University in Kyoto, which the author attended in 1947, the teachers trustingly deposited their rice in a tub at the entrance to the auditorium. When cooked, it had to feed the whole assemblage. Despite hardships, the teachers displayed a remarkable determination and good humor in learning the new ways. By the end of the 6 years and 8 months of the occupation, virtually all teachers had participated in these inservice reeducation courses.

The most outstanding reeducation program, however, was the Institute for Educational Leadership (IFEL), which, from 1948 to the end of the occupation and beyond, trained teachers, administrators, teacher-consultants, professors of education, university administrators and their guidance staffs, youth leaders, and librarians. Leadership in this endeavor was provided by some 100 Japanese professors and administrators from leading universities. They were assisted by scores of American specialists flown in from the United States by SCAP to serve as consultants.

In 15 workshop centers located in universities around the country, almost 10,000 educators in every specialty related to professional education studied and lived together for periods of 3 to 12 weeks. Besides reeducating the leaders, this democratic education process instilled a high degree of group morale and often resulted in organization of a professional society in the specialty represented in the workshop.

Some of the societies continue today and publish professional journals. Graduates of IFEL went on to become superintendents of schools, deans of education faculties, and Ministry officials. The almost 1,600 IFEL-trained teacher-consultants (supervisors) in turn provided leadership in school reform through local workshops conducted in nearly every Prefecture. To serve these and other workshops, the occupation established 100 Teacher-Education Library Centers, each with 100 titles of education classics and textbooks. Many were immediately translated by IFEL graduates so that the latest thinking would be available to their colleagues.

Once again, as in early Meiji days, the traffic flowed in two directions. Not only did American specialists travel to Japan, but Japanese educators were soon visiting the United States and bringing back ideas that they had observed applied in American schools. Between 1949 and 1951 the American Government agency, Government and Relief in Occupation Areas (GARIOA), brought 1,047 Japanese students and scholars to study in American colleges and universities. The U.S. Department of State's "National Leader Project" also imported a variety of leaders to the United States on 60- to 90-day study tours, including 261 university presidents and deans. Private U.S. sponsors held out inducements to many others: for example, the American Association of University Women awarded grants to Japanese women for postgraduate study in American universities, and the National Education Association granted scholarships to Japanese teachers for 6 months' study in the United States and sent several American specialists to Japan. On their return the Japanese lectured, wrote, and assumed leading roles in effecting educational reform.

From 1949, teacher education at the university level was available in all Prefectures for both men and women. Private universities were also allowed to prepare teachers. There was no longer a state subsidy to teacher-trainees, nor were they obligated to teach for a minimum time to repay the Government. Students were recruited from all levels of society.

Several types of teacher-education facilities evolved:

1. "Faculties of education" (similar to departments or schools of education within an American university), which were founded in each of the 25 well-established multifaculty universities and were based on prewar higher normal schools and university departments of education.
2. Faculties of "liberal arts and education" (*gakugei*) in 19 additional national universities, in which a former normal school (in combination with other colleges) was made responsible for both general and professional education.
3. Seven single-faculty "universities of liberal arts and education" (*gakugei daigaku*), which were formed exclusively from several prewar normal and youth normal schools in the same Prefecture to specialize in liberal arts training as well as professional teacher education (similar to American teachers colleges for teachers of elementary and junior high schools).
4. A high level University of Education, which was established in Tokyo and based on the former Tokyo University of Literature and Science and other teacher-training institutions. Its special mission was to be a center for research and advanced study in education, rather than to prepare teachers.

In spite of limited funds and some opposition, faculties of education, especially in the former imperial universities, strengthened their staffs, built up libraries and research institutes, and provided leadership in improving educational personnel in their regions. A primary focus was preparation of researchers, professors of education, officials, and a few practicing teachers. Training supervisors and administrators was only incidental, since the requirement that they be professionally trained was shortly dropped.

Primary responsibility for preparing elementary and junior high school teachers was given to the faculties of liberal arts and education and the special universities of liberal arts and education. Training senior high school teachers was the responsibility of university faculties other than the faculty of education. Certification requirements, however, such as methods courses and student teaching, still had to be met. Since the universities of liberal arts and education were largely staffed by the old normal school personnel, their old habits and image tended to persist.

Almost all private universities offered the minimum requirement of courses in education for the secondary school teaching certificate. They usually had attached laboratory schools and other training facilities, although the practice teaching was often perfunctory. Some "public universities"—prefectural and municipal—also had faculties of education. Almost all teacher-preparation institutions were now coeducational, offering women and men the same quality of teacher education. Exceptions were the two former women's higher normal schools at Tokyo and Nara, as well as some private women's colleges, which remained exclusively for women.

At the end of the occupation, normal schools had been amalgamated with the universities, and one national university in each Prefecture was required to offer teacher education. In addition, all national, prefectural, municipal, and private universities could provide teacher education, and most did. Retraining programs had reached virtually all the teachers of Japan, and continuing inservice programs were developed at the universities in cooperation with the prefectural boards of education. Certification standards had been articulated and teachers and administrators were required to have professional training and hold certificates.

Vocational education at all levels.—The U.S. Education Mission identified one of the major paradoxes of modern Japan; it was biased against vocational education, although the survival of the country was contingent on the rapid industrialization that is made possible only by widespread technical training. A mission report stated:

> Japan needs trained hands as well as educated minds to rebuild her homes, cities, factories and cultural institutions. There is no better guarantee for democracy in Japan than a body of skilled, employed and informed workmen. It is an asset no less moral than industrial.
>
> In order to create such a bulwark of democracy, the educators of Japan must help create the same respect for those who work with tools as for those who work only with their minds.
>
> . . . There should be furnished [in the schools] a variety of vocational experiences under well-trained staff members."[16]

Vocational education was subsequently introduced at all levels. Elementary schools provided occupational information in social studies, science, drawing, and handicrafts courses. In the fifth and sixth grades both boys and girls received 2 hours a week of homemaking instruction. The School Education Law provided that junior high schools "cultivate [in their students] the fundamental knowledge . . . of the vocations required in society, the attitude to respect labor, and their ability to select their future course according to their individuality."[17] Industrial arts and homemaking were required 3 hours a week. The School Education Law gave senior high schools the responsibility of helping pupils "decide their future educational or vocational course according to their individuality" and "making pupils skilled in technical arts."

The high school vocational program has had a checkered career. The early experiment with offering vocational training as part of the program in comprehensive high schools, conducted at the request of the occupation, was not acceptable to the Japanese, and was essentially unsuccessful from the outset. Vocational courses had lower status than academic, were unsupported, and drew fewer and fewer students. Even before the end of the occupation in 1952, vocational streams were drying up in comprehensive high schools and vocational training at the secondary level was gravitating into separate schools equipped to offer technical specializations in agriculture, industry, commerce, fisheries, homemaking, sanitation, and nursing.

Curriculum reform.—Of the two basic goals of the occupation, demilitarization and democratization, the first was soon completed. Democratization was more difficult to accomplish, but the occupation launched programs on every front to achieve it. Robert Ward has called it a "saturation-type operation . . . one of man's most ambitious attempts at social engineering . . . the redirection along democratic lines of an entire nation's socio-political values, behavior, and institutions." [18]

The schools were immediately recruited to do their part in reorienting the Nation's youth. And, for the first time, the individual mattered. The individual teacher and student were consulted in curriculum planning. No longer could the educational bureaucrats in the Ministry dictate what should be taught. Guidelines for the new curriculum were suggested by the U.S. Education Mission:

> A good curriculum cannot be designed merely to impart a body of knowledge for its own sake. It must start with the interests of the pupils, enlarging and enriching those interests through content whose meaning is intelligible to the pupils. As in the statement of aims, so in the construction of the curricula and courses of study: the pupil in a particular environment must be the starting point.[19]

By the opening of the school year in April 1947, a new course of studies for elementary and secondary schools based on pupil interest had been organized. The introduction charged the teachers to base the course on the new aims of education, the community life of the region, and the children's life. The number of different required courses was reduced to enable students to concentrate on fewer subjects. Problem solving and teaching by units was introduced at all levels. Integrated courses, such as social studies, general science, and general mathematics replaced the compartmentalized subjects. For a short time a "free study" period in the elementary curriculum even allowed the child opportunity to pursue his own interests further and thus engage in "spontaneous learning." (The time for free study was soon structured, however, in line with the Japanese custom of having everything planned and under control.)

To teach democracy effectively, it was necessary to practice it. Accordingly, cooperative projects in science and social studies, free discussion, pupil-teacher planning, democratic classroom organization from the earliest grades, and student government—familiar devices to the surviving progressives—now became common procedure.

In elementary language teaching, children who formerly learned a host of Chinese characters by rote and copied them with beautiful calligraphy, were no longer compelled to do so. Out of the total of 50,000 complex Chinese characters in use (about 4,000 are necessary to read a magazine) 1,850 basic characters were chosen as the maximum henceforth to be used in newspapers, magazines, public documents, and textbooks. A schoolchild was required to learn 881 of these during his 6 years in elementary school and 850 or so more in grades 7 to 9. Furthermore, 130 of this number were abbreviated and hence simplified. The ultimate step could have been to abandon the characters entirely and substitute roman letters, as was suggested by the U.S. Education Mission, but the traditionalists flatly refused.

The subject matter of the schools' readers was now to be closely related to the interests and activities of children.

The Ministry made it clear that social studies was the most important of all curriculum areas for advancing democratic education. It was a new integrated area replacing the separate units in morals, geography, and history. It served as a means, together with other subjects, for developing morality, training children in techniques for solving social problems, and preparing them for effective citizenship. The courses were to be flexible and adapted to the child's development, as well as to community needs: they were to begin in the first grade with the child's life at home, in school, and in the neighborhood, and expand in later grades to the nation and the world. The "Elementary School Course of Studies" described it as follows for the puzzled teachers:

> The subject of social studies has the task of giving children and youth the understanding of social life and of promoting attitudes and abilities that will contribute to its development. For this purpose it is important to give them social experiences that are richer and deeper than any they had in the past.[20]

The past curriculum, it continued, had failed to help children see the relationships between facts, simply feeding them a fixed body of knowledge that they were to accept uncritically. The new curriculum would change this.

Teachers attempted to introduce the principles of democracy as they understood them into social studies in all grade levels, and tried also to integrate them into all other courses. At the junior high level social studies also covered such problems as choosing a vocation and living in the modern industrial age. Texts in social studies highlighted the careers not only of noted Japanese leaders, but of Buddha, Christ, Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, Rousseau, Kant, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Edison, and Einstein. Two social studies texts for senior high schools prepared by top Japanese scholars and American subject-matter specialists in the CIE were "The Story of the New Constitution" and the "Primer of Democracy," illustrating the application of democracy in every realm of activity—in the family, neighborhood, union, and nation. The "Primer" was studied by millions of students and adults in night schools and PTA's.[21]

At the senior high level there was greater latitude in selection of courses. A "national minimum of common culture" of 38 units was required to insure preparation for citizenship whether a student was college bound or not. For the remainder of the total of 85 units necessary for graduation, there was a wide choice from some 30 academic subjects, or up to 100 vocational courses. Instead of the old middle school load of 20 subjects with classes for each once or twice a week, the new high school pupil load was reduced to 5 or 6 subjects, with each class meeting more often for 1 hour a day—for a total of 28 hours a week.

In the high school the moral training so dear to the Japanese was to be accomplished in all courses, since it stressed "desirable attitudes, appreciations, and ideals." In addition, student government and the new homerooms (*homu rumu*) in most junior and senior highs presumably afforded practice in orderly behavior and good citizenship.

Japanese scholars correctly identified the democratic curriculum as reflecting the Deweyan progressivism popular in pre-World War II America. The Japanese were so interested in Dewey that during the occupation period they published at least 119 books and articles about him.[22] New teaching methods, including the core curriculum, the work-unit system, and the problem-solving method of teaching, were introduced to Japan directly from U.S. progressives. In fact, many CIE officials were professors on leave from liberal teachers colleges, while some of the younger civil education officers in the field were recent graduates of these institutions. As a result of their influence, the early phase of the occupation was sometimes called the New Deal Phase. Many American officials had been active in the New Deal, and for them, as for the Japanese liberals, the time was one of new beginnings, high hopes, and idealism. The overriding theme of democratization endured until the end of the occupation.[23]

SUMMARY

Turning control over to the Japanese was early recognized by Gen. MacArthur as vital to the reform program. From the end of 1947, SCAP began to turn back political authority and initiative, so that the reforms could be internalized before the occupation forces left. In Gen. MacArthur's "Message to the People of Japan" issued on Constitution Day, May 3, 1949, he noted that the new framework was already established.[24] He instructed GHQ to permit and encourage the Japanese Government to assume responsibility for domestic administration.

A Peace Treaty was finally signed in San Francisco on September 8, 1951. Because Japan's Constitution had renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and presumably had denied the country the right to defend itself, a separate United States-Japan Security Treaty was signed on the same day, authorizing the United States to station troops in Japan for mutual protection.[25] Both treaties went into effect April 28, 1952, and the occupation was over.

Was it a success? A complete answer must await the verdict of history. It was, without doubt, the most humane and constructive military occupation in history. It attempted democratization of a nation, and in the process altered in some degree almost every important aspect of Japanese society, especially education.

Though agreement and understanding between the Japanese and American education officials was not always complete, the fashioning of a democratic education policy through the cooperation of victor and vanquished was unique in the world. For the most part, neither knew the other's language or culture. American educators, though sincere and professional, were often parochial. They often attempted to apply to Japan solutions that were successful in their home State. Japanese educational officials were often bureaucrats with no teaching experience. At the Ministry level, particularly, they were frequently law graduates from Tokyo Imperial University who were neither knowledgable about nor concerned with the "new education."

As time passed, however, the two sides learned to understand each other and work together effectively. The Japanese soon began to grasp the philosophy and purposes of the reforms, and, as new leaders who understood and accepted the modification programs emerged, they became increasingly cooperative. As U.S. representatives came to understand the Japanese situation better, their proposals became more appropriate. Consequently, the objectives of Americans and Japanese tended to merge.

At the national level, there were other factors favorable to cooperation: the ultranationalists had already been purged and had no voice, whereas the intellectuals who became Ministers of Education during the occupation were generally liberals, inclined to favor reforms. Some of the old guard at lower echelons, who were inclined to drag their feet, submitted to occupation pressure in order to hasten the end of the occupation or because no other option was open.

At the operating level of the Prefectures, the Japanese teachers and administrators generally saw the school reforms as a great improvement—one that they had been planning even before the war. Their endorsement was thus given wholeheartedly, and they worked cooperatively with CIE officers on prefectural military government teams, who were often themselves dedicated teachers concerned with the welfare of Japan's children and committed to improving their education.[26]

In general, democratic educational policy was the result of compromise. The late Dr. Seiya Munakata, noted leftist professor of education in Tokyo University, has summarized it thus:

> Although these reforms gave rise to considerable confusion, as they were far removed from Japanese tradition, the idea of freeing pupils from oppression and of respecting their personalities was roughly realized, and both teachers and pupils began to understand and appreciate the "new education." Here was born a possibility for the first time in Japanese education of carrying out the modernization in "another sense" [i.e.,] establishing human dignity.[27]

NOTES

[1] For full text of directives, see SCAP, CIE, *Education in the New Japan* (Tokyo, GHQ, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 26–33.

[2] Kenji Funayama, *Sengo Nihon Kyoiku Ronso Shi (History of the Controversies of Postwar Japanese Education)*, (Tokyo, Toyokan, 1966), p. 4.

[3] *Yomiuru Shimbun*, Mar. 11, 1955.

[4] Dean Emeritus Daishiro Hidaka of International Christian University, Tokyo,

points out that the "leading members of the first subcommittee [of JERC] which drew up the draft of the law, . . . Dr. Yoshishige Abe, Dr. Shigeru Nambara, Dr. Teiyu Amano, Dr. Tatsuo Morito, Miss Michiko Kawai, and Dr. Kyosuke Yamazaki, were in teacher-student or junior-senior relationship with Dr. Inazo Nitobe [noted Quaker], an international figure who had close relation with America." Unpublished mimeographed version of an address, "Direct and Indirect American Influences on the Japanese Social Situation and Education," delivered at International Christian University, Nov. 2, 1961.

[5] A popular newspaper column said that the most remarkable thing about the mission was that its work of charting the course and content of Japanese education was a cooperative product with JERC, "consequently the reform was not forced on the Japanese . . . but reflected JERC's originality and discovery." Takashi Muramatsu, ed., *Kyoiku no Mori (The Woods of Education)*, (Tokyo, *Mainichi*, 1968), p. 175.

[6] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, Graphic Presentation* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1969), p. 15.

[7] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 8, 25, and 27.

[8] *Nippon Times*, Oct. 8, 1948.

[9] Lay members often deferred to teachers on the boards, since they considered them professionals and more knowledgable about educational matters. Furthermore, the JTU's members had experience and some training in the techniques of parliamentary procedure; lay members were inexperienced in group discussion and problem solving, and hence could not make their opinions felt in broad decisions.

[10] *Nippon Times*, Oct. 5, 1949.

[11] SCAP, CIE, op. cit., p. 299.

[12] Ministry of Education, *Progress of Education Reform in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1950), p. 28.

[13] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, A Graphic Survey* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1968), pp. 58–59.

[14] John D. Montgomery, *Forced to Be Free: The Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 85. One-third of the members of the 1970 cabinet were graduates of the Tokyo law faculty.

[15] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, loc. cit., pp. 431–32.

[16] Ibid., p. 18.

[17] SCAP, CIE, op. cit., p. 118.

[18] Robert E. Ward, "The Legacy of the Occupation." In *The United States and Japan*, Herbert Passin, ed. (Englewood Cliff's, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 35.

[19] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, loc. cit., p. 11.

[20] Itsuo Okabe, "The Evolution of the Social Studies in the Elementary School," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas*, vol. 3 (1968), p. 26.

[21] Ronald S. Anderson, "An Adult Education Project in Japan," *School and Society*, vol. 71 (June 3, 1950), pp. 338–42.

[22] Victor Kobayashi, *John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought* (Ann Arbor, Mich., the University of Michigan School of Education, 1964), p. 113. Dr. Kobayashi makes a strong case for the view that Dewey's philosophy permeated the occupation reforms in all its aspects. See his chapter 5, "General MacArthur's Disciples of Dewey."

[23] Ward, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

[24] Documentary Material, *Contemporary Japan*, vol. 18 (April–June 1949), pp. 274–75.

[25] It was this treaty, when renewed in 1960 and in 1970, that gave rise to violent student protests.

[26] The author was a regional CIE officer in Southern Japan during the occupa-

tion. The majority of the education officers under his supervision returned to the United States after their tour of duty, took their doctorates, and went into academic life. One, Dr. James Hester, became president of New York University.

[27] S. Munakata, "The Course and Problems of National Education." In Seiichi Tobata's *The Modernization of Japanese Industry* (Tokyo, Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1966), p. 224.

CHAPTER 4
DEVELOPMENTS AFTER RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE DEMAND FOR EXPANDING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Effects of the Korean War

From the end of the occupation period in 1952 until the late 1960's, Japan's educational system passed through a period of transition that reflected the changing political and economic conditions in the Nation after it regained its sovereignty. This transitional period began, in effect, even before the end of the Allied occupation. As early as 1948, Gen. MacArthur had gradually begun to turn over decisionmaking power to the Japanese; and in 1950—the year the Korean War began—this process was sharply accelerated, because the attitude of the United States toward Japan shifted quickly. Japan came to be viewed not as a defeated enemy, but as a friendly ally. Instead of keeping the Japanese economically and politically weak, American policy was redirected toward strengthening Japan as a bulwark against communism.

The rebuilding of a Japanese defense capability presented difficulties, however, since the Americans had insisted on writing into the postwar Japanese Constitution the famous Article 9, which unconditionally renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Nevertheless, as the Korean War developed and the North Koreans initially overran the peninsula, the Japan Communist Party increasingly appeared to constitute a serious potential threat to both the Japanese Government and the American military authorities in Japan. To meet this threat and to maintain peace and order in the country, which now became the staging area for the Americans fighting in the Korean War, the U. S. Government in 1951 financed the Japanese "National Police Reserve" of 75,000 men. (This organization was later to become the "Self-Defense Forces," a military establishment equipped by the United States with modern weapons.) As the occupation authorities' attention became diverted to what they perceived as the threat of world communism, their earlier emphasis on instituting democratic reforms in Japan was replaced by a stress on policies promoting political stability and economic reconstruction.

One of the important effects of the Korean War was to prime the pump of Japan's economic recovery in the early 1950's. The United States spent millions of dollars in Japan for purchasing war materiel and repairing equipment damaged in the fighting. Bombed-out factories were rebuilt with new American equipment and quickly went back into production for the war effort. This was a strong stimulus to the postwar economy in Japan, and set the stage for a remarkable expansion of growth and achievement. And economic recovery and growing prosperity in turn led to greater demands for expanding educational opportunities.

Effects of the "Baby Boom"

Another factor also contributed substantially to the pressure for enlarging the educational system in the 1950's. This factor was the postwar "baby boom," which started in 1947 after the soldiers and civilians returned from overseas. By 1953 a new flood of children reached elementary school age, and by 1959 the population bulge was beginning to be felt at the junior high level. In 1962 and 1965, respectively, it began to affect the demand for senior high and university education.

During the occupation the basic principle of equality of educational opportunity had been written into the Constitution and Fundamental Law of Education, guaranteeing all children "the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability" (article 26 of the Constitution). Accordingly, virtually the entire relevant age group was soon attending the compulsory levels—elementary and junior high schools. But many parents were not satisfied with 9 years of schooling for their children, and insisted on further education. Senior high school enrollment, which was only 55 percent of the relevant age group in 1960, rose to 80 percent in 1968; and some 20 to 25 percent of the college-age group began to enroll in junior colleges and universities, as compared to 5 percent in prewar days. At the senior high and higher education levels especially, the steadily rising prosperity of the Nation made it possible for more and more of the ambitious youth to continue their schooling and thereby help assure themselves of a good career. And as these students finished school they provided the educated labor power that supported further rapid economic growth.

POLITICAL STRUGGLES

The Conservative Reaction

As was noted in the previous chapter, a number of democratic reforms were instituted in the educational sector during the occupation period. For example, popularly elected school boards were established with the idea that they would assume many of the basic decisionmaking functions previously exercised by the Ministry of Education. Morals courses in the schools, which were thought by the occupation to have provided the vehicle for military and authoritarian indoctrination, were banned and replaced by social studies programs. And a variety of privately published textbooks were made available to take the place of standard texts produced by the Government. These changes were generally applauded in the liberal, intellectual, and educational circles and among the youth, where there was much criticism of prewar value patterns.

However, as Japan regained its independence and moved into a period of renewed self-assurance and economic viability, a perhaps inevitable conservative reaction took place, matching the increasing conservatism of the Americans. One of the earliest foreshadowings of this reaction came in 1951, when, in anticipation of the impending formal end of the occupation, Gen. Matthew Ridgway, successor to Gen. MacArthur, invited the Japanese Government to evaluate the occupation reforms and decide which should be discarded and which retained. In response, the Government appointed a high-level Committee for the Examination of Occupation Reform Policy, which included in its purvue educational reforms.

The Committee report submitted to the Cabinet in November 1951 reflected the revival of nationalist sentiments that was occurring at that time. The preamble of the report said:

> The reform of the educational system carried out after the end of the war conduced in no small measure to rectifying the defects of the past educational system and to establishing a democratic educational system. Nevertheless, not a few points of the reform were obviously incompatible with the actual state of affairs in Japan since the reform was modeled after various systems of a foreign country [the U.S.] largely different from our country in internal conditions . . . . These points should be fully reexamined so that the educational system may be improved in a rational manner commensurate with Japan's national strength and internal conditions in order to achieve a true effectiveness in education.[1]

The Committee's report recommended:

1. Retaining the 6–3–3–4 system but making it more flexible—for example, by dividing the junior and senior high schools and universities into two separate institutions, one for general academic education and one for specialized vocational training.
2. Establishing a 5-year vocational high school or a vocational college, the latter to consist of 3 years of senior high and 2 to 3 years of college-level study.
3. Revising the courses of study for secondary schools to fit the special requirements of general (i.e., academic) schools and vocational technical schools.
4. Returning to the prewar system of Government preparation and publication of all textbooks.
5. Reducing the size of local and prefectural school boards and having them appointed by the heads of local and prefectural governments with the consent of the legislative assemblies at these levels.

6. Restoring major responsibility for educational matters to the Ministry of Education.
7. Setting up a Central Advisory Council to advise the Minister on the conduct of education.[8]

Although these were simply recommendations, the Government proceeded, during the decade of the 1950's, to implement, at least in modified versions, most of the suggestions. In sum, they constituted a movement away from the single-track system of occupation days towards a revival of a multiple-track system.

The comprehensive high school and university were modified, moving toward separate institutions for general and vocational/technical studies. Five-year technical colleges *(kosen)* became a reality in 1962, providing an opportunity for junior high graduates, at age 15 or so, to go directly into technical training and become middle-level technicians. The school boards were cut back in size—the prefectural boards from seven to five members, and the local boards from five to three. They were at the same time made appointive rather than elective.

A Central Advisory Committee was formed in 1952 to succeed the Japan Education Reform Council, and was subsequently named the Central Council for Education (CCE). Actually, the only recommendation not carried out was the return to government monopoly in the preparation of textbooks, but in this case the Government achieved its purpose by developing effective control mechanisms that went a long way toward making a monopoly unnecessary.

The JTU-Ministry Struggle

These proposals and the steps toward implementing them touched off in the 1950's a series of intense struggles: the Japan Teachers Union (JTU) vs. the Ministry, the reformers vs. the conservatives, and the opposition parties vs. the Government. The liberals and leftists characterized the Government moves as an attempt to destroy the new democratic school system and to return to the authoritarianism and absolutism of prewar days. The JTU raised the loudest complaint, and swore to defend the democratic reforms. In fact, in order to identify more closely with them, the JTU no longer referred to the Constitution and education laws as the "MacArthur" Constitution and laws, but began to call them the "Peace Constitution" and "Peace Laws."

During the decade of the 1950's the JTU and the Ministry became increasingly polarized and antagonistic. At a national convention in 1952 the JTU called itself the Fighting JTU. Under this banner it declared absolute opposition to the revision of the Constitution to permit rearmament, and it protested the presence of the American military bases; in the educational arena, it concentrated its attention on fighting revision of the school board law. In support of these causes, teachers participated in a series of demonstrations and protests, including hunger strikes and sit-ins, over the next several years.

The Ministry on its part doggedly pushed ahead with its program to recover the power lost in the earlier decentralization. In 1952 the appointment of the first postwar politician, Mr. Kiyohide Okano, as Minister broke the tradition established during the occupation of appointing only scholars or educators to the post. He promptly took the offensive against the JTU, branding it the "enemy." This aggressiveness was countered by an ever more militant union. The education profession was inexorably pushed to the left, and the bureaucracy to the right, even though individuals and groups within each segment differed in politics and regretted the growing split. Whatever one side proposed the other automatically opposed. Particular sources of conflict were the so-called twin bills for ensuring the political neutrality of education, passed in 1954, which prevented teachers from participating in any political activities except voting, or from advocating political positions in their classes. Their union was also barred from disseminating political literature.

Appointive school boards.—Another protracted and bitterly contested issue was the fate of the school boards. In the elections of 1948 and 1950, the JTU had won about a third of the school board seats for its teacher members, proving to be especially strong at the prefectural levels. In response, on the pretext that it was necessary to protect the political neutrality of education, the ruling Conservative Party determined to correct what it considered the "excesses" of the occupation and to revise the school board system. It successfully engineered the single most important piece of legislation nullifying the occupation reforms when it pushed through the Diet in 1956, against heavy resistance, a bill making boards appointive rather than elective. Under this law the prefectural superintendents were also to be appointed by the appointed board, with the approval of the Minister of Education. And the boards themselves were bound by the law to comply with Ministry directives. If, as the Conservatives argued, the boards had previously been the tools of the left wing, they were now clearly converted by this legislation into an arm of the right wing. Henceforth, the Ministry controlled educational policy at the local level, as illustrated by the fact that most of its directives were immediately translated into action in local schools.

The Teachers' Efficiency Rating Plan.—This victory of the Ministry gave it the confidence to strike another blow at the JTU. In 1958 it embarked on a nationwide compulsory Teachers' Efficiency Rating Plan (more fully discussed in pt. III, ch. 1), whereby all principals were required to rate their teachers each year on a scale devised by the Ministry. The JTU felt that while the school board issue was an *indirect* attack on the union, the rating plan was a *direct* attack, because teachers' salary increments and even their jobs were now at stake. At this point the confrontation became a national nightmare. Many teachers walked out of their classrooms, and they were joined by the radical Zengakuren (militant student associations) in protest demonstrations. In the end, after hundreds of teachers were dismissed and others were transferred to remote regions, the Ministry was able to enforce the plan in most Prefectures.

Special allowances for principals.—Also in 1958, the Government pushed through the Diet another new education bill, this one providing for special allowances of 2,500 yen per month for school principals, to compensate them for their extra work in making out teacher ratings. Since most principals were still union members at this time, the JTU called this move a bribe to induce principals to leave the union ranks and to cooperate in enforcing the rating plan; this charge engendered further ill feeling and increased the tension on all sides.

Revision of the compulsory education curriculum.—In the middle of the conflict over the rating plan the Ministry announced that the entire curriculum of compulsory education was to be revised—the first comprehensive revision since the occupation period. Up until 1958 it had published periodically "Courses of Studies" that were not mandatory and left the individual teachers considerable freedom to develop the details of course content. The Ministry now began to argue that this system opened the door to the influence of radical teachers. The 1956 revision of the School Board Law had given the Ministry the power to revise and standardize the curriculum, and in 1958 it proceeded to do so through a major curricular overhaul.

The most controversial change was the introduction of a modified morals course to be required at all levels of compulsory education for 1 hour a week. The oft-repeated basic rationale for this course was that the Nation required for its unity transmission of the cultural heritage and the defining of a "minimum common code of behavior in social life that should be possessed by all people in order to make possible the co-existence of various values in peace." [8] Additional evidence adduced to justify the necessity for morals instruction was the rising tide of juvenile delinquency and the growing failure of youths to honor traditional values.

Other important provisions of the curriculum revision were that required achievement standards in all courses were to be raised and science and technical education were to be stressed. But the most significant change was that the "Course of Studies" was now to be published in the official Diet's "Gazette" as an order from the Ministry, giving it the highest legal sanction. The "Course of Studies" defined central aims and minimum requirements for each subject. However, insisted the Ministry, it still did not constitute a detailed prescription of course content to be uniformly enforced in all schools. The final authority still resided in the teacher, who was responsible for adapting the curriculum to the special characteristics of his students and the needs of the local environment. Thus, in theory at least, there was room for the teacher to be creative. The only firm restriction placed on the teacher was that he was not to bring his own ideological doctrines into the classroom. This restriction reflected a constant concern of the Government, and one which was often justified. Despite the local variations in its interpretation and implementation, which remained permissible, the net effect of the promulgation of the new "Course of Studies" was, in practice, to set up a "national curriculum" with common standards for all schools at the elementary and junior and senior secondary levels.

The JTU opposed the new curriculum, which it viewed as just another step in reverting to prewar controls. Some union members refused to teach the morals course. To forestall sabotage of its plans, the Ministry sponsored inservice training workshops and special lectures on the new curriculum, and especially on the new morals course requirement, and pressured teachers to attend. The JTU's efforts to block such meetings led to further conflict between teachers and police.

The textbook authorization system.—The next step in the Ministry's campaign to regain power was to stiffen the textbook authorization machinery (described in detail in pt. III, ch. 3). In the decade following the Peace Treaty the intellectual life of Japan was dominated by leftwing thinkers. Much of the historical and economic writing in this period was strongly Marxian in tone. Following the failure of the leftists to block the Japanese ratification of the Security Treaty with the United States in 1960, the Government moved to control more strictly the leftist influence on youth exerted through textbooks. The JTU promptly charged that the Ministry was increasingly tightening its censorship over textbook content, especially in history and social studies, by demanding extensive revisions of those manuscripts held to be liberal or radical. When the publishers of these texts sought more detailed reasons as to why such changes were needed, they were answered with such explanations as, for example, that a book was one-sided because it enthusiastically portrayed the new Constitution as a popular document, unbalanced because it stressed human rights and civil liberties, or too negative because it included pictures of the devastation of World War II.

On its part, the Ministry denied that the textbook authorization procedure constituted censorship or an attempt at partisan political indoctrination. It held that the purpose of the system was to insure objectivity in textbooks and to prevent injection of propaganda by leftist writers.[4] Furthermore, it pointed out that the Fundamental Law of Education required the Ministry to determine and maintain national minimum educational standards, and held that because of this requirement textbook licensing could not be turned over to local school boards, as some suggested, since these boards were felt to be subject to local pressures.[5] The upshot of this round of contention on this issue was that the Ministry's position prevailed, and the new controls remained in effect.

The Kanagawa Formula.—The struggle between the teachers' union and the Government finally began to subside when the more moderate Socialists gradually won leadership of the JTU from the Communists between 1959 and 1962. They introduced a compromise for the Teachers' Efficiency Rating Plan named the "Kanagawa Formula" (see also pt. III, ch. 1), which allowed a teacher to evaluate himself and to be present and consult with the principal when the latter added his evaluation; the resulting evaluation report was then submitted to the school board, which was supposed to use it as reference material for the purpose of improving local education. This compromise approach was recommended by the new moderate leadership of the JTU to its prefectural units. The recommendation was indicative of the fact that the new leadership had recognized that the union's use of violence had resulted in a loss of public support, and that it was necessary to move away from the hard-line tactics of the Communist Party which had dominated union policy since about 1955. Consequently, after the early 1960's the more moderate approach generally continued to govern union policy, and the JTU gradually turned away from political causes and concentrated on improving the economic welfare of its members.

Achievement tests.—Despite adoption of a more conciliatory attitude by the JTU, there was no letup in the Government's drive to control local education. In 1961, for example, the Ministry announced that it would conduct a compulsory nationwide achievement test in mathematics, social studies, science, English, and Japanese language for second- and third-year junior high students (for more information, see pt. III, ch. 1). The Government's justification for the tests was the familiar one that the Ministry was responsible for establishing uniform standards in order to guarantee equal educational opportunity for all youth, and that in order to fulfill this responsibility it needed comparative test results. The JTU, on the other hand, saw the testing plan as a thinly veiled scheme to check on teachers to see how closely they were following the standard curriculum. The union feared that if a union member's classes performed poorly, it would be held by the Ministry to be clear proof of the teacher's failure to teach effectively. Thus, in the JTU's view, the tests were unjustifiable "interference in the classroom."

In pursuance of this approach, the union persuaded many of its members to refuse to participate in the tests, and, on doing so, they were promptly arrested. Few engaged in striking, however, since the union was now too weak to call a work stoppage. Instead, some of the teachers negotiated with local school boards before the test was given to get their assurance that the test results would not be used against them. The court cases of those arrested dragged on for years, the courts disagreeing on the question of whether or not the Government had a legal basis for conducting the achievement test. The JTU continued to argue that the tests were in violation of article 10 of the Fundamental Law of Education, which stipulated that "education shall not be subject to improper control, but it shall be directly responsible to the whole people."

THE NEED FOR IMPROVED SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION

With Japan's economic recovery in the 1950's, the context in which the educational system existed changed vastly. With economic growth came an increased emphasis on the role of science and technology, and the first indications of emerging affluence. Society became more mature and sophisticated. The Nation became more urbanized, and families became smaller. Schools that had been concentrating on training a constantly increasing number of young people for specific roles in the current industrial society now had to begin to prepare them for changing roles in a fluid technological and "information" society. They had not only to teach the basic skills more efficiently, but also to train people in the new techniques as well. And, in addition, they were charged with improving the health, welfare, morality, creativity, and critical judgment of youth—in sum, with providing them with a flexible education of high quality that would produce well-balanced human beings. In line with this approach, equality of educational opportunity remained an established aim, but the goal was not confined to the school-age population; learning was coming to be viewed as necessarily a lifelong proposition.

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, an impressive *quantitative* expansion of education at nearly all levels was accomplished during this period. But the Nation's rapid scientific and technical advance demanded an even more difficult parallel *qualitative* improvement of education. One evidence of a government's commitment to quality education is increased expenditure per pupil, providing better teachers, smaller classes, better laboratory equipment, and libraries. Although the Japanese Government, as compared to other industrial nations, had a tendency to stint higher education, especially that provided in private universities, as well as research in all higher education institutions, it did begin to make determined efforts to raise the quality of schooling in science and technology, and its efforts were supported by the teachers themselves through their professional societies.

Efforts in this regard started as early as 1953, when a law providing for promotion of science education was passed. Over the ensuing years the Government adopted a series of measures to improve science education in both public and private schools by subsidizing equipment and strengthening preservice and inservice teacher training. Yet by the mid-1950's the business and industrial leaders of the country became increasingly dissatisfied with the products of the postwar educational system. They felt that the single-track system did not adequately supply the kind of specialized labor force they needed. Accordingly, these circles called for expanding vocational education at the upper secondary level and promoting science and technical education at the postsecondary and university levels. To spell out these requirements, the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations (*Nikkeiren*) published in 1956 its "Opinion on Technical Education To Meet the Needs of the New Era." The report said in part:

> Japan carried out a reform of the school system after the war, but little attention was paid to the importance of technical education. At universities, the custom of placing too great importance upon law and the liberal arts compared with natural sciences and engineering has not yet been rectified, while the effort to promote scientific and vocational education is still far from satisfactory. Unless plans to foster technicians and skilled workers parallel to the epochal growth of the Japanese economy are mapped out in order to ensure the enhancement of industrial technology, Japan's science and technology will certainly lag behind the constantly rising standards of the world and the nation will turn out a loser in international competition.[6]

The need to meet these new manpower demands became one of the main preoccupations of Japan's educational system in the 1960's. Prime Minister Ikeda's "national income-doubling program" covering the years from 1960 to 1970 specified that educational planning should constitute a main aspect of overall economic planning. Investment in training scientists and technicians, the manpower categories having the most direct impact on the speed of economic growth, came to receive top priority in the Ministry. This priority affected all levels of schooling. One of the most successful measures adopted to strengthen this area was expansion of the system of well-subsidized and highly organized Science Education Centers mostly located in prefectural capitals; these centers grew rapidly in number during the 1960's. In them, with a combination of local initiative and resources and substantial National Government assistance, teachers at all precollege levels received inservice training in use of the latest materials and methods for science and mathematics teaching (see pt. II, ch. 3). Furthermore, under a 6-year plan (1960–65), technical senior highs were expanded by 2,000 classes and their total enrollment was increased by 85,000. To combat the declining interest in agriculture, 30 new agriculture high schools were opened in the middle and in the late 1960's and enrolled a total of 16,500 students.[7]

At the university level, the staffs of science and engineering departments were enlarged, old courses were updated, new ones covering the latest aspects of these fields were created, and enrollment quotas were raised. Special subsidies were granted national, public, and private universities to provide better teachers, facilities, and equipment. As a consequence of this substantial Government aid, the enrollment of science and engineering students increased 3.2 times over a 10-year period, 1959 to 1969, during which time the total enrollment at the university level rose only 2.3 times.[8]

The percentage distribution of university students by faculty or department in 1960 and 1970 was as follows:[9]

	1960	1970
Law and economics	41.1	41.8
Science and engineering	18.1	24.2
Literature	15.4	12.7
Agriculture	4.7	3.7
Teacher education	9.8	6.9
Medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy	4.7	3.9
Other	6.2	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0

While the science and engineering departments showed the greatest percentage expansion over the decade from 1960 to 1970, by far the largest block of students (41.8 percent) still elected to major in law and economics. In short, the investment in science and engineering brought tangible, but not particularly spectacular results, in view of the heavy official emphasis in these fields.

SUMMARY: THE SITUATION IN THE LATE 1960'S

As the 1960's drew toward a close, it was clear that the original American intention in encouraging teachers' unions—that of supporting growth of a professional teacher organization that would at the same time protect the rights of teachers and also cooperate with the Ministry in promoting the best interests of education—had failed to materialize. Instead, the two protagonists had spent most of the postwar years trying to destroy each other, often to the neglect of the Nation's children. In the process, the Ministry had greatly recentralized its power: it controlled the organization and administration of schools through the boards of education, which now functioned mainly to carry out the orders of the Ministry; it controlled the curriculum through the mandatory national "Course of Studies," the textbook authorization system, and the compulsory achievement tests; in regard to schoolteachers, its payment of one-half of their salaries was at least partial insurance of their conformity.

On its part, the JTU, which had been generally on the defensive in the latter years, was greatly weakened by the struggle, but it survived and continued to exert an influence. Although it was reduced in power, its views now had to be taken into consideration before any decision regarding educational policy could be made and implemented. The tragic irony in the confrontation was that both sides had in common the sincere purpose of improving the quality of education for the country's youth. The image that most teachers had of the Ministry, that of an immovable block of power that would never listen to the ideas of schoolteachers, was manifestly unfair.

Many members of the Ministry staff, especially those below policymaking levels, were former master teachers who had gained their positions through demonstrated competence. And the Ministry in fact invited feedback from classroom teachers on many issues, even the controversial ones. Gradually, after two decades of tense confrontation, common interests began to be more clearly recognized, and the heads of the union and the Ministry began to find grounds for communication, and even for a tentative and cautious cooperation.

By the latter part of the 1960's, it was also recognized that piecemeal educational adjustments to meet immediate needs would not be sufficient to satisfy the long-range future requirements of a fast-changing society and economy. In 1967, therefore, the Minister of Education asked the Central Council for Education to submit a recommendation on "fundamental measures for the comprehensive expansion and improvement of school education." The basic rationale given for the request was as follows:

> Japan's school education has made great strides over the past century, and the degree of its dissemination in this country is very high by international standards. . . . This has played an important part in the growth and development of our country as a modern state. Meanwhile, as to existing school education, not a few problems are being pointed out in relation to both its system and substance . . . and a comprehensive examination of school education is now being called for. Furthermore, the rapid development of technological innovation and the complexities of society require that school education solve a growing number of new problems in the years ahead. Accordingly, it is considered necessary at this juncture to reexamine the past achievements of our country's school education, clarify the problems involved and thereby establish measures for improvement. At the same time, it is essential to study fundamental measures for the comprehensive expansion and improvement of school education from a long-range point of view in order to meet [the needs of] the future progress of our country and society.[10]

The educational reform effort, thus set in motion, was conceived as being the third major effort of this kind to be undertaken during the last 100 years (the two earlier efforts being those during the Meiji period and during the occupation period after World War II). The new effort, however, was consciously not to be based on foreign models, as were the earlier two; it was to be indigenous in origin and designed to meet the particular national needs of Japan in the latter decades of the 20th century. The development of this new comprehensive reform plan absorbed the attention of the educational planning advisers in Japan for 4 years, and helped to shape the contemporary educational scene of the 1970's that is discussed in part II—"Education in Contemporary Japan."

NOTES

[1] Makoto Aso and Ikuo Amano, *Education and Japan's Modernization* (Tokyo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972), pp. 71–72.

[2] Tokiomi Kaigo, *Shiryo Sengo Nijunenshi* (*Materials on the Twenty Year History*

of Postwar Japan), (Tokyo, Nihon Hyoronsha, 1966), pp. 39–41, as quoted in Benjamin C. Duke, *Japan's Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-Wing Teachers Movement* (Honolulu, the University Press of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 103–04.

[3] Isao Amagi, Speech on *The Review of National Policies for Education* (Tokyo, Education Committee, the Ministry, 1970), p. 8. Mimeographed.

[4] Ibid., p. 5.

[5] Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, *Review of National Policies for Education: Japan* (Paris, OECD, 1971), p. 31.

[6] Aso and Amano, op. cit., p. 83.

[7] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, "Educational Development in Japan, 1960-1970," *Education in Asia* (Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia), vol. 6 (March 1972), p. 75.

[8] Ministry of Education, *Educational Standards in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1971), p. 27.

[9] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, op. cit., p. 78.

[10] Aso and Amano, op. cit., pp. 97–98.

PART II: EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

CHAPTER 1
OVERVIEW

STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Despite its considerable problems, the Japanese national educational system is characterized by substantial maturity and stability. Chart 2 on page 106 outlines the present structure of the basic 6-3-3-4 ladder and the normal age of admission to each grade level of the system.

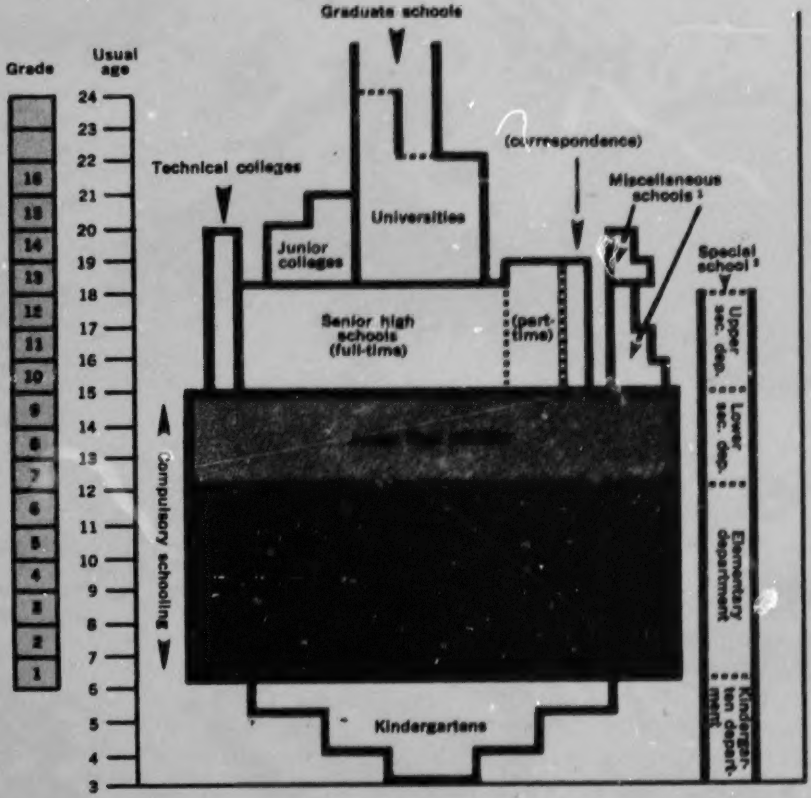
At the lowest rung of the ladder is the kindergarten, which provides preschool training for 3- to 5-year olds, accommodating more than half of this age group. The first 9 years of regular schooling (shaded on chart 2) are compulsory, comprising the 6-year elementary and 3-year lower secondary or junior high. These are open to all and offer free schooling. A remarkable 99.9 percent of the age group from 6 through 15 attend these schools. They generally require no entrance examination (except for the few that are famous for preparing students for the university track).

The single-track system instituted during the occupation period has now been divided into three tracks at the upper secondary level that include, respectively, the following schools: (1) General (i.e., academic) senior high schools, including full-time (3 years), part-time (4 years), and correspondence schools (4 years or more); (2) vocational senior high schools, also including full-time, part-time, and correspondence schools; and (3) the lower grades of the 5-year technical colleges, which operate at the grade 10 to 14 level. Since roughly 80 percent of all students attend upper secondary school, there is a growing demand that the senior high be included in the compulsory years. It has been articulated with the junior high, but entrance is still on the basis of a stiff examination.

Higher education is available through the junior college or the university. The former provides either a 2- or 3-year program, both of which are essentially terminal; and the latter, a basically 4-year undergraduate degree program and a variety of graduate programs.

Special schools for the physically or mentally handicapped provide public instruction at the elementary and secondary levels parallel to the regular school ladder. They include schools for the blind, deaf, and "otherwise handicapped."

Chart 2.—Structure of the educational system of Japan: 1972


Grade
Usual age
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
Graduate schools
Technical colleges
Junior colleges
Universities
(correspondence)
Miscellaneous schools ²
Special school ¹
Senior high schools (full-time)
(part-time)
Upper sec. dep.
Lower sec. dep.
Elementary department
Kindergarten department
Compulsory schooling
Kindergartens

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[1] For the blind, deaf, and "otherwise handicapped."

[2] Including a wide variety of institutions that provide practical, vocational, and cultural instruction in such skills as dressmaking, cooking, typing, and flower arrangement.

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Agency, 1972), p. 2.

"Miscellaneous schools" include a wide variety of institutions on the outer fringes of the formal education system. They are for the most part privately operated, and provide practical, vocational, and cultural instruction in such skills as dressmaking, cooking, typing, bookkeeping, auto repair, computer operations, nursing, driving, flower arrangement, and the traditional tea ceremony. "Prep" schools for university aspirants are also included in "miscellaneous schools." Classes range in duration from a few months to about 1 or 2 years, and approximately two-thirds of the students are women.

The numbers of schools, teachers, and students at the various educational levels in 1972–73 are shown in table 1.

THE SCHOOL CALENDAR

Unlike its American counterpart, the Japanese school year begins on April 1 and ends on March 31 of the following year. This schedule applies to all levels, from elementary to university, and corresponds with the fiscal year employed by the National Government and by local governments.

Elementary and junior high schools have 3 terms: April to mid-July; September to late December; and January to late March. Senior high

Table 1.—Number of public and private institutions, teachers, and students by level or type: 1972–73 [1]

Level or type	Institutions	Teachers [2]	Students
Kindergartens	11,564	80,528	1,842,458
Elementary schools	24,325	383,627	9,696,133
Junior high (lower secondary) schools	10,686	237,038	4,688,444
Senior high (upper secondary) schools	4,810	238,978	[3] 4,154,647
Special schools for the handicapped, total	459	14,976	[4] 54,508
For the blind	75	3,117	9,296
For the deaf	108	4,653	15,372
For other handicapped	276	7,206	29,840
Technical colleges	63	5,584	[5] 47,853
Junior colleges	491	33,042	287,974
Universities [6]	398	128,712	1,529,163
National teacher-training institutes for teachers of nursing	9	187	1,039
Miscellaneous schools [7]	8,045	108,578	1,263,772

[1] Compiled in May 1972 for the 1972–73 school year.

[2] Includes part-time teachers.

[3] Includes part-time enrollment (approximately 7.5 percent of this total).

[4] This total is included in the above enrollment figures for kindergarten, elementary, junior high, and senior high schools, as follows: Kindergarten—2,291; elementary—23,599; junior high—15,251; and senior high—13,367.

[5] In these 5-year institutions at the grades 10–14 level, only about 35 percent of this total enrollment is at the higher education (grades 13 and 14) level.

[6] Of these universities, 192 have graduate schools and enroll 44,749 of the total number of university students. The graduate students are candidates for the master's and doctor's degrees.

[7] Consist of a wide variety of institutions operating outside the formal educational system. They offer practical, vocational, and cultural instruction in such subjects as dressmaking, cooking, typing, and flower arrangement. Courses are from a few months to a year or two in duration.

Source: Adapted from *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Mombu Tokei Yoran (Handbook of Educational Statistics)*, (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1973), pp. 10–31; and Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, "Organization of Education in Japan 1971–1973." Report presented at the XXXIVth International Conference on Education in Geneva, 1973. Mimeographed.

schools may have either a 2- or 3-term year, while most universities have 2 terms.

Vacations follow each term: summer vacation from late July through all or most of August; winter vacation just before and after the New Year; and spring vacation following the annual examination in late March. Summer vacation in Japanese schools is shorter than in the United States. Japan's public elementary, junior high, and senior high schools have only 30 to 40 days, while private junior and senior high schools have a somewhat longer break. Some rural schools grant farming season vacations in spring and autumn when the students must work in the fields, but these are compensated for by a shorter summer vacation. The average total vacation time per year is about 60 days.

School is in session for 5½ days per week (a half-day session on Saturday) during 35 weeks of the year. The minimum number of schooldays per year is 210, but most schools are open from 240 to 250 days. Thus, in comparison with the 180 days common in the United States, Japanese schools provide 1 or 2 months' more schooling each year than do American schools. During the 6 elementary school years the additional schooltime adds up to between 6 and 14 calendar months; and by the end of junior high school it may amount to nearly an extra 2 full years. This might well account for the conclusion by many observers that Japanese youth are ahead of their comparable age group in other countries, particularly in the skill subjects.

CHAPTER 2

KINDERGARTEN AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION

The greatest proliferation of Japanese schools in recent years has taken place at the preschool level. As of May 1972, there were over 11,500 kindergartens (table 1, p. 107), and the number has been increasing at the rate of 5 to 6 percent a year in response to a continually growing public demand.

Although most kindergartens are private institutions, they must conform to Ministry of Education standards requiring that: (1) pupils must be between the ages of 3 and 5; (2) the school must have a professional staff headed by an administrator and including 1 teacher for every 40 children; (3) the school must provide 4 hours of program a day for 200 days a year; and (4) prescribed standards must be met for classroom and playground space and equipment—i.e., indoor equipment must include blocks, toys, picture books, a piano, record player, easels, paints, and tools for crafts; and outdoor facilities must include slides, swings, and sandboxes.[1]

The aims established by the Ministry of Education are as follows:

> 1. . . . To foster the sound development of body and mind.
> 2. To foster the fundamental patterns of behavior in our daily life and appropriate social attitudes; to build up emotional harmony, and thus to cultivate the germ of moral sentiments.
> 3. To arouse an interest in nature and social affairs, and thus to cultivate . . . the ability to think.
> 4. To foster a right attitude [of being willing] to listen to what others say . . . and thus to develop an ability to use words correctly.
> 5. To develop self-expression through creative activities.
> 6. To promote spontaneous activities so as to achieve independence, as well as to give such care and protection as are needed by children.
> 7. To provide appropriate guidance in accordance with individual differences, by taking into consideration . . . the child's physical and mental development.

8. To provide . . . guidance in accordance with a child's . . . interests and needs.

9. To provide . . . guidance in accordance with the special needs of individual localities, by improving the living environment of the kindergarten.

10. To provide . . . guidance in accordance with the characteristics of kindergarten education, which is different from elementary education.

11. To make close contacts between home and school, and thus to raise the efficiency of kindergarten education in cooperation with education at home.[2]

Although kindergartens remain the freest type of school, many are bowing to the demand for more content by introducing learning and drill. The rationale is that, as a result of changes in living environment, the physical and mental development of 4- and 5-year-old children now is the same as that of first and second graders before the era of television.[3] This rationale was supported by a survey made in 1967 by the National Language Research Institute indicating that today's children of 4½ years are psychologically ready to learn to read and write.[4]

For some time Japanese parents have been introducing their offspring to the initial stages of learning to read in order to insure their acceptance by the preferred kindergartens. One parent described to the author his feelings when his 5-year-old was taking an entrance examination to a noted kindergarten—"I felt I was the one being examined."

As previously mentioned, kindergartens are mostly (nearly 70 percent) private, but there is increasing pressure to make them compulsory and responsible to the Government. They already accommodate some 58 percent of the 4- and 5-year age group, and enroll a total of about 1,842,000 pupils (May 1972 figures). As a result of public insistence, the Central Council for Education (CCE, a high-level advisory group) recommended to the Minister of Education that the compulsory school age be lowered to 5 by 1976 and to 4 by 1981.[5] In order to prepare for this change, the Council in 1971 proposed experimentation with new structures for organizing kindergarten and elementary schooling. Two such structures were scheduled to begin in 1974 for trial alongside the present system. Both would bring young children into the formal schooling cycle 2 years earlier than under the current system. One provides for a 4-year infant school, entered at age 4, after which the child would automatically enter the third grade of the present elementary school. The other provides an entirely new 8-year elementary ladder, started also at age 4, and completed at age 11. The two new structures were to be tried as in pilot operations in a carefully chosen group of public and private schools. Any eventual decision to make the education of 4- and 5-year olds compulsory would necessitate revising the present School Education Law and will require Diet approval.

If the proposed change is ultimately implemented, it will require an estimated 35 percent more teachers than are now employed at the kindergarten level. Added to the cost of expanded facilities, the cost of these additional salaries would make the reform very expensive.

It is interesting to note that an advisory body to the Minister of Health and Welfare, the Central Children's Welfare Council, took the unusual action of criticizing the CCE's recommendation regarding preschoolers. It charged that the proposed change was biased by preoccupation with the intellectual aspect of development, and might result in oppression of children. The Council said more emphasis should be placed on play and training for group living. This view is shared by some teachers. One kindergarten teacher, for example, protesting the demand of many parents for more instructional content to launch their children on the academic track, said that the purpose of preschool education is to help children develop their individuality, acquire good habits, and learn to play and share with other children. "It is a mistake," she said, "to regard kindergartens as preparatory institutions for elementary schools, and to teach too many things instead of helping the tots develop their creative ability and adjust themselves to their new environment." [6]

Thus Japan is currently in the throes of making a new policy decision on an old question: whether to teach writing and numbers at age 4 or to concentrate at this level on play and social adjustment.[7]

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

At present children enter elementary school at age 6. The entire 6-year elementary school age group in May 1972 totaled over 9½ million (table 1, p. 107). In general, the increase in numbers has slowed down since approximately 1958 because of the falling birth rate, beginning in the early 1950's. The projected picture for the next decade, however, shows a gradual increase in elementary students, to 11,160,000 (appendix D, p. 365). A Ministry survey has revealed that, while the flight of population from rural to urban areas has substantially increased the number of elementary schools and pupils in the great urban areas, a corresponding decrease occurred in certain remote and rural areas.[8]

All children except the retarded are grouped in heterogeneous classes: the retarded have special classrooms. All children—regardless of achievement, retardation, or attendance records—are automatically promoted each year, a longstanding custom from prewar days. And, after 6 years in elementary school, all students graduate and are passed on to the junior high school.

In elementary schools the majority of teachers are assigned to a self-contained class of a particular grade and teach most subjects. Other teachers, however, are specialists in such subjects as fine arts, music, and physical education.

The Daily Schedule

The aims of the elementary schools are listed in article 18 of the School Education Law (appendix B, p. 353). A typical school schedule begins the week with morals instruction, which is required in public schools for 1 hour a week; alternatively, in private schools, religious education is substituted for morals instruction. There are regular subjects for a total of 24 to 31 class hours per week, 35 weeks or more per year. Special curricular activities include club activities 2 to 3 hours per week after school, and homeroom periods and assemblies for about 1 hour on Saturday morning. The following is an example of a fourth-grade schedule:[9]

Period	*Mon.*	*Tues.*	*Wed.*	*Thurs.*	*Fri.*	*Sat.*
1	Morals	Arithmetic	Japanese	Arithmetic	Japanese	Music
2	Physical education	Music	Arithmetic	Science	Arithmetic	Japanese
3	Arithmetic	Japanese	Social studies	Japanese	Library	Arithmetic
4	Science	Social studies	Physical education	Social studies	Physical education	Club activities
Lunch						
5	Japanese	Science	Japanese	Social studies	Drawing & crafts	
6	Committee meetings	Class meetings	Japanese	Social studies	Drawing & crafts	

Student government meetings (including representatives of the whole school, but with fourth, fifth, and sixth graders serving as officers) plan such activities as room cleaning and sports festivals. Regular school events include ceremonies, athletic meetings, literary exercises, and (in the spring) school excursions.

The Japanese elementary school day generally lasts from 8:30 a.m. to 3 p.m., with the youngest children attending only in the morning. There are 6 periods a day, 45 minutes to a period. Class size is legally restricted to 49, and classes usually number 40 or more. School responsibilities call for children to provide cafeteria and custodial services. During lunch, cafeteria monitors don white masks and caps and carry the hot school lunch from the kitchen to their classrooms, where teachers and children eat together. At day's end, class monitors clean the room, since there are few janitors. Other children may engage in club activities or read in the school library before beginning the walk home, which for students in the rural areas may mean an hour's journey by foot.

The Curriculum

Each week the curriculum for each grade consists of 7 to 9 hours of social studies, 3 to 6 hours of arithmetic, 2 to 4 hours of science, 2 to 3 hours of music, 2 to 3 hours of arts and crafts, 3 hours of physical education, 1 hour of morals, and for the fifth and sixth grades, 2 hours of homemaking (table 2, p. 114).

The Ministry embarked on a major reorganization of the entire elementary school curriculum effective April 1, 1971.[10] The number of hours for each subject remained the same, but the emphasis in many fields was changed, as will be seen in the following discussion of individual subjects.

Morals.—The postwar morals course was far different from that taught in the prewar period although it was, like the earlier one, considered the most important course in the curriculum. It was no longer indoctrination in Shinto nationalism. To allay nationwide fears that there would be a revival of the old course, the Ministry assured the public in 1958 that there would be no textbook or examinations. The new morals was to teach "basic patterns of daily life, moral sensibility and judgment, development of individuality and [a] creative attitude toward life, [as well as a] moral attitude as a member of both national and local communities." [11]

The content was left to the discretion of the teachers, many of whom, however, were at a loss how to handle the course, and some of whom begged the Ministry to give them guidance. In 1962 the Ministry "allowed" publication of "side readers" by private publishers, and in 1964 it issued a teachers' manual and suggested reading materials which the Ministry itself had published. Each of the nine compulsory grades was supplied with three volumes of such Government-produced materials.

The course generally developed into a collection of stories and hom-

First graders help their teacher serve school lunch to the class in the regular classroom. (International Society for Education Information, Tokyo, Inc.)

ilies from around the world, teaching everything from good manners to love of mankind. According to Prof. Tokiomi Kaigo, dean emeritus of Tokyo University School of Education, about 70 percent of the content was based on the new postwar value system of democracy, while some 30 percent was based on traditional values, such as obedience to parents and authority figures. Stock characters from the prewar course, such as Columbus, Washington, Franklin, and Lincoln, as well as Japanese heroes, were retained in the texts, and such recent figures as Gandhi, Helen Keller, and Konosuke Matsushita (a contemporary industrial genius) were added. An important difference in approach from prewar times is that children are admonished not simply to imitate the lives of great men, but to think for themselves. The current course is related to guidance and is often taught by the homeroom teacher, who knows the children best and does most of the personal counseling.

In order to meet teachers' demands for more systematic content, the Ministry prescribed 36 principles to be taught in all elementary schools, beginning with the individual student's respect for himself, and concluding with love of mankind.[12] An American educator studied what was being taught at various grades in schools in Shikoku and observed the following: first graders were studying care of personal possessions and the evils of quarreling among themselves, third graders were considering health, and fifth and sixth graders were occupied with tidiness, family life, etc.[13] The Ministry suggested use of supplementary readings and audiovisual aids, such as slides, tape recordings, educational television (ETV), and class discussion. (For a description of a morals class using ETV, see pt. III, ch. 3, p. 292.)

When the curriculum was reorganized for the 1970's, the course in morals was revised in an attempt to achieve greater effectiveness. The new Guidance Plan of 1968 compressed the 36 required moral virtues

Table 2.—Prescribed subjects and class hours [1] per week for elementary schools: 1971–72 [2]

Subject	Grade 1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	*24*	*25*	*27*	*29*	*31*	*31*
Japanese	7	9	8	8	7	7
Social studies	2	2	3	4	4	4
Arithmetic	3	4	5	6	6	6
Science	2	2	3	3	4	4
Music	3	2	2	2	2	2
Arts and crafts	3	2	2	2	2	2
Homemaking	—	—	—	—	2	2
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3
Morals	1	1	1	1	1	1

[1] A "class hour" is 45 minutes.
[2] Effective April 1971.

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan—A Graphic Presentation, 1971* (Tokyo: Government Printing Bureau, 1971), p. 59.

into 32. Since the list reveals the ideal value system projected by Ministry planners for Japan, a detailed examination of it may be useful.

> **Aim:** The aim of morals education is to cultivate morality so that (1) the child will grow up applying the spirit of respect for humanity in the home, school, and society, (2) he will help develop a democratic society and state with a creative culture, and (3) he will be able to contribute to the realization of a peaceful international society.
>
> In the hours for morals education while keeping in close touch with other subjects and special [i.e., extracurricular] activities, every effort should be made to foster ever higher and richer moral judgments and sentiments among the pupils and enhance their moral attitudes and their desire to put them into practice.
>
> **Contents:** [taken from the 32 required moral virtues]
>
> 1. To respect human life [one's own and others'], promote health, and try to secure safety.
> 2. To be careful of one's dress, language, and behavior, and be courteous.
> 3. To keep one's belongings in order, and the immediate surroundings clean and neat.
> 4. To use things carefully, and spend money wisely and efficiently . . . .
> 8. To be sincere and act honestly.
> 9. To love justice and hate injustice, and to act courageously [against injustice].
> 10. To persevere to the last for the realization of right aims.
>
> * * * * *
>
> 14. To be kind to animals and plants with a tender heart.
> 15. To respect the beautiful and sublime with purity of mind and heart.
> 16. To be aware of one's own personal characteristics and try to develop one's strong points.
> 17. Always to be hopeful and try to realize one's highest aims.
> 18. To think rationally, never losing the spirit of inquiry.
> 19. To try to be original and creative.
> 20. To be kind to everyone, treating the weak and unfortunate with tender care.
> 21. To respect and be thankful to the people who have done service to you and society . . . .
>
> * * * * *
>
> 25. To understand the spirit of rules and regulations and observe them willingly. If the case necessitates amendment, try to amend the rules or make new rules [by legal means].
> 26. To insist upon your proper rights but to discharge your duties without fail.
> 27. To respect labor and work for others.
> 28. To be public-minded, observe public morality, and not trouble others.
> 29. To love and respect the other members of your family, and try to make a better home.

30. To love and respect everybody at school, and to try to develop a better tradition for the school.
31. To love your country and try to contribute to its development with self-consciousness as a Japanese.
32. To try to understand all peoples in the world with proper affection, and try to become a person who will help humanity.[14]

Obviously the success of this approach depends largely on the teacher. An individual of high moral purpose who accepts the validity of it would be more likely to serve as a model and hence be able to propagate its principles effectively. Dr. Theodore Brameld, who had occasion to observe the teaching of the principles, concluded that it was virtually impossible to teach some of the abstract concepts to elementary and junior high children within the brief period of 1 hour per week.[15] The Ministry's response would be that these values should permeate all subjects and class activities.[16]

A more serious indictment is that the code ignores the very real fact, more apparent in Japan perhaps than in most Western countries, of a generation gap. The sophisticated younger generation, having been exposed to freedom of choice as a value for their entire schooling, will reject the old answers as a means of meeting today's problems. Furthermore, many of the desired qualities of character (e.g., creativity) cannot really be taught. Some modern Japanese educators feel that the only way to teach creativity is to remove the controls and let the child be spontaneous. Other stipulated virtues (e.g., love of family and schoolmates) can only come from within the individual.

Dean Tsugio Ajisaka of the School of Education, Kyoto University, points to major obstacles in teaching morals: The difficulty in establishing standards that are universally applicable, finding ways to make the allotted hour most effective, relating the moral education taught in school with that in the family and society, fitting it to the individual personality of each child, and harmonizing group training and individual training. But he adds:

> In consideration of the contemporary situations where religions have little moral influence both in family and society, and where the prewar tight patriarchal family system has been replaced by a modern one in fact as well as legally, the function of moral education in schools is extremely important and very much is expected of its effects.[17]

The Japanese public, fearful of their children's independence and disdain for the old values, has expressed widespread dissatisfaction with the way the morals course is taught in the schools. But disagreement rages among the different groups as to what its contents should be. Many conservative parents demand more discipline and a respect for the heroes of the past. Leftists, especially radical Japan Teachers Union members, seek to indoctrinate youth with Marxist (or Maoist) ideology and oppose national heroes and traditional values; while liberal teachers and intellectuals equate morals with social and esthetic values, which they hope to instill by teaching critical thinking on social problems.

> The international survey team of the OECD agreed in 1970 that—the schools should reflect the demand for moral education in their curricula: it is not something to be left to the . . . students to be pursued in their spare time. In a country so clearly divided on political matters as, however, is Japan, the use of the educational system for the teaching of one ideology or one specific set of political attitudes would seem to be out of the question. Nor, it appears, would a search for some kind of common national ideology to guide education, lead to any fruitful results.[18]

Reading and writing.—A recent national achievement test of fifth and sixth graders indicated an apparent decline in writing ability and a poor knowledge of Chinese characters. Consequently, the number of characters to be learned in the 6 years of elementary school was increased in 1970 by 115 to a total of 996 with the possibility of 150 beyond that. To effect this, language learning at the earliest grades was intensified, so that first graders now learn 30 more characters and second graders, 40. The philosophy behind this, according to the "Elementary School Course of Studies," is that "younger students can learn faster and cover more ground, therefore more Chinese characters should be introduced earlier."[19] In addition, despite universal use of pens in school and out, instruction in the formerly elective artistic brush calligraphy, much cherished by the Japanese, is now compulsory. (See cover illustration.) Many children voluntarily attend private calligraphy classes in their free time, often on Sunday mornings.

The U.S. Mission's recommendation that complete romanization of the language be adopted has been rejected. The time devoted to the study of romanization was greatly reduced in the new curriculum. The mastery of roman letters was held to be unnecessary, except for reading street signs and shop names, which would come naturally. It could be handled briefly in the fourth grade, according to Ministry instructions.

Furthermore, the use of the oral-aural approach in Japanese language teaching, such as public speaking, dramatizations, and telephone and television practice, is being deemphasized, and composition and learning of characters are being stressed.

Social studies.—The most controversial reform of the occupation was substitution of "social studies" for morals, history, and geography. In the 1958 revision of the "Course of Studies," the Government made two changes—(1) introduction of a new course in morals, and (2) division of the integrated social studies course into its original components, history and geography. Japanese history was henceforth taught in the sixth grade, and in an essentially traditional way.

As one teacher wrote:

> There arose a movement to introduce systematic instruction in place of the problem-solving method . . . this was the turning point from child-centered

> instruction to teacher-centered instruction [and] . . . we began to see the revival of the old cramming methods in teaching social studies as well as the old textbook-centered instruction in which pupils read textbooks carefully and learnt their contents by heart.[20]

In the 1970's curriculum revision, the most drastic return to traditional values, and one that excited nationwide controversy, was the decision to revive teaching of Japanese legends and myths of origin in social studies to increase the children's patriotism. The general aims of elementary social studies are now "to imbue the students with the love of their nation and deepen their understanding of the nation's history and traditions." [21] The new "Course of Studies" was particularly concerned with the contents of the Japanese history course taught in the sixth grade. It declared:

> 1. . . . As for the Emperor, children should be guided so as easily to understand the Emperor's function in the national Constitution; also, in connection with the study of history it is necessary to guide children so that they will have a deep understanding and reverence for the Emperor . . . and let them realize the significance of the national holidays . . . .
>
> * * * * *
>
> 3. It is necessary to bring in the Japanese myths and legends which were compiled and recorded before the beginning of the 8th Century, as described in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki,* to help us understand what our ancestors thought about the formation of the country. Also, care should be taken so that interest in details should be avoided, but by utilizing the accounts of historical personalities and stories, the children should be guided to think of the relationship of the imperial family and the nation which is reflected in history and to realize that it is the historic responsibility of the whole nation to esteem and protect the valuable cultural assets . . . .
>
> 4. In teaching about international society and world peace, special care should be taken so that students should not acquire ideological or merely theoretical ideas; therefore, there is no need to study the detailed functions and organization of the United Nations. Through these studies care should also be taken so that the children will develop a concern and respect for their own national flag, and that at the same time they should have a similar reverence for other nations' flags.[22]

This was the first time since the World War II that concrete mention of the Emperor was made in the "Course of Studies." The myths and legends were already being covered in the language and literature course, where they were treated as stories. The Ministry, however, felt that this was inadequate, and mandated their introduction in the history classes as well.

To most educators around the world, familiar with the practice of teaching patriotism in their own schools, Japan's revised curriculum stressing "national consciousness" seemed quite understandable. Foreign specialists in Japan were, in fact, surprised that it had not been revived as soon as Japan had regained her sovereignty in 1952. But many Japanese teachers, intellectuals, and students, especially those in high school and college who had accepted the ideals of freedom, feared that this reorganization was a return to the ultranationalism of prewar days. The Japan Teachers Union

(JTU), several outspoken prefectural boards of education (especially in Kyoto and Nagano), and a number of national universities that offered teacher training protested. The JTU accused the Government of binding the teachers to its conservative line, and resolved to resist it.[23] The Kyoto Board, noted for its independence of the Ministry, claimed that the new curriculum ran counter to the spirit of the Fundamental Law of Education,[24] which says in article 10: "Education shall not be subject to improper control, but it shall be directly responsible to the whole people."

The new elementary textbooks on display in textbook centers in spring 1970 showed, says the *Yomiuri* newspaper account, a "marked reactionary tendency" in introducing Japanese mythology in history education.[25] The education editor of the *Mainichi* said that introduction of myths and legends was a "revival of prewar education and a shift to the right."[26] Whether this trend persists depends, of course, on the attitude of the teachers in the classroom, most of whom are JTU members unenthusiastic about carrying out the dictum of the Ministry.

Arithmetic.—Arithmetic teaching in Japanese schools has also been acclaimed as spectacularly successful. After rejection of the occupation policy of applying progressive education techniques to arithmetic teaching, (i.e., basing learning on the creative experience of the child), the teachers quickly returned to systematic teaching and drill, which have now been combined with the techniques of the new mathematics. The new math has been translated into Japanese and, with Ministry support, has been implemented. Mathematics plays a significant role in the total culture, and thus is introduced to children at an early age, starting with 3 hours a week in the first grade and increasing to 6 hours each in the fourth to sixth grades.

Art.—Japanese children, almost without exception, have an aptitude for art. Good weather will frequently find an entire class of young children, with their art teacher, sketching some famous scene or beauty spot. A variety of media may be used—e.g., blockprints, mobiles, or water colors. Art may also be used as therapy in working with troubled youngsters in disadvantaged areas.[27]

Music.—German and other European influences have dominated Japanese school music to the present, and composers from all over the world, including Hungary (Bela Bartok) and Germany (Carl Orff) are still prominent in Japanese musical education.[28] At the same time there is now a trend towards developing musical education in the schools that will be closer to the lives of the children, introducing at the earliest grades the traditional Japanese children's songs used in play.

The efforts of a renowned private music teacher, Dr. Shinichi Suzuki, must be noted in conjunction with fostering musical skills among Japanese children. His success in teaching infants to play stringed instruments has been lauded as remarkable. Children 5 to 13 are enabled to play Bach and Mozart in public concerts. His theory is that children can learn the language of music in the same way, and at the same time, as they learn their mother tongue.

In many schools every child learns to play a simple musical instrument. At one school in the industrial section of Tokyo, the entire student body of more than a thousand children formed a band and did a "march past" before a group of visiting American teachers. Simple march tunes were coaxed from recorders, harmonicas, triangles, castanets, and drums. An attractive custom of school musical performances is to use student conductors, no matter how young. Elementary schools are nearly always equipped with pianos, small reed organs, and harmoniums, and until recently many other instruments were commonly available there. In 1968, however, as part of curriculum revision, the Ministry reduced the variety of instruments to be used in elementary school from 16 to 4—percussion, harmonicas, recorders, and organs.

Because of the widespread exposure of children to good music over radio and television, and because of excellent teaching and musical equipment, musical education has become sophisticated and thorough, and is one of the major successes of recent education. The Japanese in one generation have developed virtually universal taste for the best in world music.

Physical education.—The revised physical education course resulted in a highly structured program. The Enforcement Regulations of the School Education Law prescribed specific activities for each class session—sitting up exercises, gymnastics, track, folk dancing, swimming, and other sports. National standards were also established, against which the instructor measures his students.

Physical education, offered three times a week in each year of elementary school, is given great emphasis. In a typical instance, the author observed a class of fourth graders in Kyoto, boys and girls, competing in a race of about 50 yards. Dressed in white duck trousers and red caps, the entire class lined up behind professional looking track starting blocks. Five stepped forward at a time, crouched in a starting position, and leapt off at a signal from the teacher's pistol. Inevitably the boys won, but the girls seemed to accept their defeat with good grace.

Health, hygiene, and safety are included in the program for the fifth and sixth grades. Swimming also is popular, and compulsory for the older children. During summer vacations teachers often take the class to the seashore for swimming lessons. Teachers are also required to swim, and there is even a "no nonswimmer teacher" movement.

Elementary schools pride themselves on their swimming pools. Over 30 percent of all primary schools in the country already have a pool, and more pools are being built at a rapid rate. Miyagi Prefecture planned to provide every elementary school with a pool by 1971. A remote area school in Tokushima Prefecture with only 150 pupils recently completed a 25-meter pool built in response to parents' initiative. Most are built at the expense of the local board of education, with contributions from the PTA, but the National Government is now assisting with a subsidy of $3,330 for building a pool if a locality cannot afford it.[20] The new "Course of Studies" in physical education stipulates swimming as a requirement beginning in 1971.

SUMMARY

The burgeoning kindergartens, traditionally private, are strongly supported by parents as well as the Government, and seem destined to become a part of the compulsory education system serving all children from the age of 4. Controversy continues over whether they should concentrate on socialization or content learning, with the weight of tradition and popular opinion on the side of content.

As in many countries, the most effective teaching of attitudes as well as basic skills occurs at the elementary level. The subjects most effectively taught in Japan are language, music, arithmetic, and morals The morals course is mandated for only 1 hour a week, but it has such strong support from both parents and the Government that it serves to transmit a fixed moral code or value system that is essentially traditional, despite the op-

Elementary school boys and girls are expected to perform well by national standards set for physical education activities in elementary schools. Children in the foreground are measuring the leap. (International Society for Educational Information, Tokyo, Inc.)

position of many teachers and youth. The obvious danger, constantly pointed out by liberals, is that it could easily revert to being indoctrination in official dogma, as in prewar days. An indication of movement in this direction is the introduction during the 1970's of national myths and legends in the elementary school history course. There is continuing contention concerning this between right and left, especially between the JTU and the Ministry of Education.

Even though, as in most countries, there is no agreement as to what should be taught in elementary school, there is a general consensus that more subject matter of greater difficulty should be taught at an earlier age. Therefore, with each curriculum revision the content is constantly being expanded and toughened. This trend toward essentialist education, with emphasis on patriotism, mirrors the conservatism and reviving nationalism of recent times.

NOTES

[1] "Standards for the Setting Up of Kindergartens," in *Understanding Japan—Japanese Education,* S. Katsuta, ed. (Tokyo, the International Society for Educational Information, 1968), p. 51.

[2] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan—A Graphic Presentation, 1967* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1967), p. 62.

[3] *Asahi Evening News,* Nov. 6, 1970.

[4] *Japan Times,* Nov. 9, 1970.

[5] *Japan Times,* June 12, 1971.

[6] Miss Haruko Uyematsu of Aiiku-kai Settlement House, Shiba, Tokyo, as quoted in *Nippon Times,* Mar. 30, 1957.

[7] *Japan Times,* June 12, 1971.

[8] *Asahi Evening News,* Aug. 14, 1968.

[9] Adapted from *Understanding Japanese—Japanese Education,* S. Katsuta, ed. (Tokyo, the International Society for Educational Information, 1968), p. 56.

[10] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Shogakko Gakushu Shido Yoryo (Elementary School Teaching Guidance Plan)*, (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1968), p. 214.

[11] Ministry of Education, *Education in 1958: Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1960), p. 23.

[12] Listed in Tsugio Ajisaka, "Moral Education in Japan," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas,* vol. 3 (1968), pp. 11–12.

[13] Theodore Brameld, *Japan: Culture, Education and Change in Two Communities* (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), pp. 75–76.

[14] *Guidance Plan,* loc. cit., p. 197–202.

[15] Brameld, op. cit., p. 76.

[16] *Guidance Plan,* loc. cit., p. 2.

[17] Ajisaka, op. cit., p. 13.

[18] *Mainichi,* Nov. 6, 1970.

[19] *Guidance Plan,* loc. cit., pp. 29–30.

[20] Itsuo Okabe, "The Evolution of Social Studies in the Elementary School," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas,* vol. 3 (1969), p. 33.

[21] *Japan Times,* June 1, 1968.

[22] *Guidance Plan,* loc. cit., pp. 49–50.

[23] *Japan Times,* June 1, 1968.

[24] *Asahi Evening News,* July 10, 1968.

[25] *Japan Times,* Press Comments, May 26, 1970.

[26] Takashi Muramatsu, ed., *Kyoiku No Mori (The Woods of Education),* (Tokyo, Mainichi, 1968), p. 216.

[27] A prize winning film, *Children Who Draw,* available in many American educational film libraries, shows a first-grade art teacher in a Tokyo slum school using art as therapy.

[28] Masami Yamazumi, "Historical Survey of the Music Education in the Elementary School," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas,* vol. 3 (1968), p. 70.

[29] *Asahi Shimbun,* Japanese ed., Aug. 11, 1968.

CHAPTER 3
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

At age 12, on the average, a Japanese youth enters the 3-year junior high (or lower secondary school, as it is officially designated in Japan). There is normally no entrance examination at this juncture, except in the case of some of the most prestigious national and private schools. The entire relevant age group—about 4.7 million youth—is enrolled in almost 11,000 schools at this level (table 1, p. 107). In recent years the enrollments have reflected an annual decrease of some 3½ percent because of the spectacular success of Japan's population controls in the later 1950's.

THE STUDENT AND THE CLASSROOM

The Student

The junior high student proudly wears a distinctive uniform with brass buttons bearing the school insignia. Boys are attired in dark blue, high-collared jackets with visored caps; girls are dressed in navy blue blouses and skirts. In June the uniform changes to white. This uniform is traditional, dating from Meiji days, and is required by the school rather than by the National Government. Children yearn for the day they can don the uniform, which gives them identity and status.

Junior high is a vastly different experience from elementary school. The demands on the adolescent to observe the cultural norms are intensified. He must begin to assume responsibility and to prepare for his role in society. Since most youth elect the academic track, the junior high represents a time of intensive study to prepare for the entrance examination to senior high school. The pressure does not begin immediately, but accumulates over the 3-year period as the examination approaches. During the third year the students are streamed into an elite track directed toward senior high and college, and an ordinary track for those going immediately to work. Those destined for college take special courses in English and mathematics, while the job-bound take watered-down English and mathematics courses and pursue vocational subjects. The college-bound receive most of the teachers' attention and enjoy high prestige. In many schools it is reported that the job-bound minority are neglected during the last half of the third year, when the students aspiring to senior high and college are in their most intensive stage of preparation.[1] Since the reputation of the junior high school depends on the number of its graduates who are able to enter the good senior high schools, teachers work hard to help them cram for the entrance exams. The neglected vocational students often harbor a hostility against the favored students and their teachers that leads occasionally to fights between the two student groups.[2]

Among the majority, the 90 percent going on to senior high school (95 percent in urban areas), there develops an intense competition. The complete attention of these students must now be concentrated on study, before and after school, late at night, and during vacations. Parents not only bring pressure on them to study, but often pamper them. Many parents make extra sacrifices to provide special tutoring. They may spend more money—$3 to $10 a tutoring session—than they do for formal education.[3]

The "kyoiku mama" ("education mama") is the caricature of the overanxious mother who will scrimp to provide tutoring for her child and sometimes even bribe officials to admit her offspring into favored schools. The child thus fulfills the mother's wish for status, subordinating his own creativity and independence. Some children collapse under the pressure, and occasionally one commits suicide.

Many observers have deplored the cutthroat competition among these youth of 12 to 14 because it teaches mutual suspicion and distrust among classmates and militates against development of firm friendships at an important time in their lives. Others regret the single-minded concentration on study at the expense of a well-rounded development of the individual personality through sports, social events, and the arts. The so-called examination hell is even more acute now than before the war.

The Classroom

The arrangement and ritual of the Japanese junior high classroom reflects the Nation's philosophy and tradition: it implies the superior status of the teacher. He stands on a raised platform at the front of the room. In most of the junior high school classrooms, the students—both boys and girls—sit in rows at their rough wooden desks, in separate straight-backed chairs. In each row, boys and girls generally occupy alternate desks and chairs.

Classroom ritual retains much of the stiff formality of prewar days. All students must be seated at their desks before the teacher arrives. At his appearance they rise and bow in unison on command from the class monitor or the teacher. During class they usually rise to their feet to recite. At the end of the hour they once again snap to attention and bow goodbye to the teacher.

Some teachers are still strict and forbid any laxity in these rituals. Others, who have become modern in outlook and attitude, are more inclined to be lenient.

At the beginning and at the end of the school day there is generally a short homeroom period in which announcements are made and such counseling as is done is handled by the homeroom teachers. Cleaning of classrooms and corridors, which takes about 20 minutes, is done by students, since junior highs, like elementary schools, have few janitors.

The lecture method, as of old, reigns supreme. Students take meticulous notes. The teacher usually emphasizes important points by writing key words on the blackboard. He may have taken them from the teacher's manual or they may be his own ideas. There is little class discussion—a device introduced during the occupation, but long since abandoned. The teaching has again become teacher-and-textbook centered, instead of pupil-centered. Much of the class time is devoted to reading the text book aloud, especially in an English course, and explaining small grammatical points. Individualized instruction is impossible with classes of 45 or more youths. Teachers generally follow a single text religiously; only occasionally is a supplementary text used. In the junior high, instruction is largely departmentalized, and the majority of teachers are specialists in one or two subjects.

THE CURRICULUM

Although the curriculum is published as a national "Course of Studies" in the Diet Gazette, and allows few options, each school has the right to adapt it to local needs and to its students' stage of development. Table 3 on page 129 lists the required and elective subjects and hours for each of the 3 junior high years in the revised "Course of Studies" effective April 1, 1972. The minimum program for each student is 33 or 34 hours per week, 6 per weekday and 4 on Saturday. A school hour is 50 minutes long.

In the first and second years, 30 hours of studies are in required courses, leaving only 4 for electives. These electives usually consist of a 3- to 4-hour course in English which, although not required, is taken by almost everyone. If a student takes 3 hours of English, he can also elect a 1-hour vocational course in each of the first 2 years. In his third year he reduces his music and art courses to 1 hour each, enabling him to take a 2-hour vocational course in addition to his 3-hour English course. If he chooses, a student may forego foreign languages entirely and substitute vocational courses. This is in line with the philosophy of the junior high, which is supposed to provide students the opportunity to explore vocations. In the third year, 29 class hours are in required subjects, leaving 4 or more hours for electives. These are filled by the college-bound with supplementary academic courses, such as English and mathematics, while the job-bound may sample more vocational courses.

In reality, required subjects comprise most of the students' program, and there is little choice. There are more requirements and fewer electives than in an American junior high school, but the program is somewhat less rigid than it was in prewar Japan when there were no electives at all.

Japanese

The Japanese language course is an amalgamation of grammar, literature, written composition, reading, and calligraphy. Because mastery of it is so difficult, language receives foremost emphasis in each of the 3 years—5 hours a week. Beginning in 1972 an increase in the number of Chinese characters to be mastered became mandatory. Beyond the 996 or more Chinese characters presumed to have been learned in elementary school, the student must add 250 to 350 in the seventh grade, 300 to 400 in the eighth grade, and approximately 300 in the ninth. Learning to read and write the entire required 1,850 basic characters and the two syllabaries takes an estimated one-fourth of the total school time during the 9 years of compulsory education.[4]

Social Studies

Social studies to develop citizens for a "democratic and peaceful nation and society" ranks second in emphasis, being taught 4 to 5 hours per week. It includes, in the seventh or eighth grade, geography—expanding gradually from a study of one's native region to all of the regions of Japan, then to the world; in the eighth grade, history—from the origins of Eastern civilizations to Japan's role in the modern world; and in the ninth grade, civics—covering family life and society in Japan and economic and political life in Japan and in the world. There is no fixed sequence of courses; geography and history can be taken at the same time, but both must precede civics.

In the curriculum revision for the 1970's social studies is the core of national education—to prepare students to become "good people" as members of the state. Emphasis is placed on the duties and responsibilities of community members.

The new Ministry instructions to the junior high social studies teachers include the following aims:

> 1. Bring the students to a correct understanding of our country and its history from a broad world viewpoint. On this foundation, let them learn about national sentiments and the way to live as Japanese at present and in the future . . . .
>
> * * * * *
>
> 3. Let the children cherish the attitude of love and esteem for the achievements

of our ancestors and respect for our cultural assets which have contributed to the development of the nation, its society, and its culture.

4. Lead them to understand the role of our nation in the world and in international affairs and cultural interchange, and also let them appreciate other nations' culture and traditions, which should lead to a spirit of international cooperation.
5. Encourage the students to have the attitude and ability to grasp historical facts correctly, observe things from an historical point of view, and judge them impartially. Also, familiarize them with the systematic chronology of history, maps, and other materials and give them skills in using them.[5]

In eighth-grade Japanese history, the teacher is instructed for the first time to introduce study of Japanese myths and legends in covering the earliest periods.[6] Moreover, teachers (and textbook writers) are no longer to stigmatize the Tokugawa era as feudal. Instead, in line with the interpretation of contemporary scholars, they are to find the seeds of modernization in this period. Rather than characterizing the Meiji period as

Table 3.—Junior high school curriculum: 1972–73

Subject	Hours		
	1st year (7th grade)	2d year (8th grade)	3d year (9th grade)
Grand total	34	34	33
Required			
Total	30	30	29
Japanese	5	5	5
Social sciences	4	4	5
Mathematics	4	4	4
Science	4	4	4
Music	2	2	1
Fine arts	2	2	1
Health and physical education	3½	3½	3½
Industrial arts and homemaking	3	3	3
Morals	1	1	1
Special curricular activities	1½	1½	1½
Elective[1]			
Total	4	4	4
From among the following:			
Foreign languages	3	3	3
Agriculture	1	1	2
Trades and industries	1	1	2
Business	1	1	2
Fisheries	1	1	2
Homemaking	1	1	2
Mathematics	—	—	2
Music	1	1	1
Fine arts	1	1	1

[1] The school must permit a student to take one or more electives each year according to his aptitude and ability. If he chooses a foreign language, he may take English, French, German, or others, and must start it in his 1st year. If he does not take a foreign language, he may take several vocational courses if they are offered.

Source: Adapted from Mombusho (Ministry of Education), *Chugakko Gakushu Shido Yorye (Junior High School Course of Studies)*, (Tokyo, the Ministry, April 1969), p. 1.

aggressive and imperialistic, as has been the common postwar interpretation by liberals, students in the 1970's are to look at the bright side of Japan's modern century and focus on its progress and development.

In ninth-grade civics, when dealing with problem areas, teachers are requested not only to point out the defects of contemporary society, but also to recognize positive achievements for the improvement of society.[7] And in teaching current events, the teacher is urged to be careful not to indoctrinate the students with a particular ideology, in conformance with the strictures on political education laid down in article 8 of the Fundamental Law of Education.

Dr. Masunori Hiratsuka of the Curriculum Deliberation Council, the author of the revised junior high curriculum, stated that the major aim was "deepening the understanding and love of country. The spirit of defending the country (i.e., the national defense consciousness) is born naturally out of affection for the country." [8]

Mathematics

The objectives of junior high mathematics are roughly the same as in the United States; i.e., to deepen students' understanding of the basic concepts, principles, and rules concerning quantities, geometrical figures, etc., thereby developing their ability to make accurate and efficient use of mathematical skills and knowledge. As in the past, the subject is required of all students. Everyone enrolls in the first 2 years of classes together, 4 hours a week. In the third year the curriculum is generally divided into two streams: one for the college-bound or academically oriented students, and the other for the noncollege-bound students. The first group has a total of 5 hours per week; the latter takes 3 hours per week.

A recent UNESCO study, the International Project for the Evaluation of Education Achievement, revealed that Japanese in the 13-year-old age groups ranked highest in mathematical achievement among those of 12 countries, including the United States, Australia, and several European countries.[9] Of the students tested, 76 percent of the Japanese youth scored in the upper half of the scale. Japanese students, incidentally, were the most positive in their liking for mathematics; American youth were the most negative. Although Japanese youth regard mathematics as difficult, it is also considered a very important subject in terms of social needs and career fulfillment. Family and social pressure to succeed in the entrance examinations, which always emphasize mathematics, motivates mastery of the subject. The Japanese also credit high teaching standards in the elementary grades for their success in mathematics.

The pace of mathematics instruction is more rapid in Japan than in the United States. Geometry is taught in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades rather than in the 10th grade as is the usual practice in the United States. Students study trigonometric identities in the 9th grade in Japan,[10] and in the

11th grade in the United States. In Japan a college-bound student would be expected to complete calculus in senior high school.

The influence of the senior high school entrance examination on mathematics teaching is overwhelming. The "good" teacher seeks to give his students the necessary information and techniques with which to face the examination. Consequently, little time is spent on lengthy explanations and theory. This is a cause for concern among some mathematicians, who feel that free inquiry-centered learning methods are thus being sacrificed.[11]

Japanese mathematics teachers are following closely the movements for modernizing mathematics education in various parts of the world, particularly the new mathematics programs in the United States. The Japan Society of Mathematics Education has assigned a curriculum study group to work on experimental programs and textbooks. At a recent annual meeting the society had as one of its themes "improving the teaching method so as to increase the children's creativity." [12] Programed learning, teaching machines, and audiovisual devices are gradually being introduced. Mathematics teaching is sophisticated: teachers are aware of their problems and strive constantly to improve their teaching ability. The curriculum revision for the 1970's is aimed at greater differentiation of junior high mathematics to allow for the widely different abilities of individual students.

Science

In the classroom.—In science teaching, as in other fields, the occupation approach was progressive, focusing on science problems encountered in the child's daily life. But the pressure for entry into the best senior high schools increased steadily, leading to the need for covering more material. As a result, the lecture-method again replaced emphasis on problem solving, and the trend reverted toward dispensing a systematic, factual body of scientific knowledge. Little provision was made for "discovery" by the student. Two subject-matter areas were to be equally treated—(1) physics and chemistry, and (2) biology and geology.

In the 1960's, Japan was determined to absorb the industrial and scientific progress of the world and strengthen her position in world trade. Accordingly, science teaching was strengthened, with detailed instruction and governmental science research subsidies given to teachers beginning in 1967. For example, each junior high received an average of over $5,000 worth of science equipment. However, in spite of the stated aim of emphasizing experiments and observation, the 4 hours of science required in grades 7 to 9 were not sufficient to cover all the material, and laboratory work and observation were neglected.

In the revision for the 1970's even more material will be added to the already overburdened curriculum, just to keep pace with the rapid progress in science and technology. Content is being updated and made more systematic. At the same time it is intended that instruction will be flexible to meet the individual differences of the students.

The substantial success of Japan's science teaching is clear to all observers. In a comparative test of geographic concepts and images of the physical world of ninth graders in Tokyo and Chicago, the mean scores were 75 for Tokyo students and 48 for Chicago. Most of the Japanese were able to read a topographical map, while barely half the American pupils could do so. Japanese youth knew the location of Washington, D.C., but few American youth could locate Tokyo.[13]

Despite its relative effectiveness in teaching both math and science, a serious problem confronts Japan in these areas. The shortage of science and mathematics teachers is acute. Junior high schools outside the large cities have had to take teachers not trained in their specialties. One method of remedying the shortcoming is inservice training. The Science Education Study Rooms established in 30 national universities proved ineffective in doing the major job of upgrading science teachers. But since 1958 the Ministry of Education and prefectural boards of education have cooperated in providing inservice training through seminars in science education, and these seminars have produced better results. From 1968 to 1972 they stressed modernization of science education and the interrelationship of theory and experimentation.

Science Education Centers.—With scientific knowledge doubling every decade or so, the Japanese science teacher, like science teachers everywhere, has had to "run to keep up." An eminent American biologist, Dr. Bentley Glass, has estimated that the knowledge of a science teacher becomes obsolescent in 5 to 8 years unless replenished or renewed. He feels that the Japanese have found a solution in the idea of the Science Education Centers, which may become a model for science educators elsewhere.[14]

Located in all 46 Prefectures, the centers provide continuous and systematic inservice training of science teachers and carry out research on science education. Open to private as well as public school teachers, from elementary to senior high level, the centers are all tuition free. They transmit to local teachers in the most remote regions the latest in science educational techniques, upgrading indirectly even those unable to attend. Attendance is motivated by the teachers' interest, since it does not carry rewards of salary increment or promotion. The right to attend is in fact much sought after.

The first centers were founded in 1960—not, it should be noted, by Ministry fiat, but through local initiative in various Prefectures where farsighted educational leaders had realized that drastic steps were necessary to reduce the obsolescence of their trained science teachers. By 1966, the centers trained in 1 year 163,000 teachers; and in 1968 the Toyama Center alone, which the author observed, reached a total of 712 teachers.

A typical Science Education Center is located in a prefectural capital and is built by the prefectural Board of Education to serve the whole system. It generally has laboratories for physics, chemistry, biology, and earth sciences, each accommodating about 24 teachers at a time. Adjacent to each laboratory is a large workshop for preparing materials. Each center also has a good library replete with the latest American curricular studies, a lecture room for up to 100 persons, while centers in some Prefectures have a dormitory and cafeteria for teachers from remote parts of the Prefecture. In addition to the usual facilities in an ordinary high school, workshop and greenhouse areas are usually available, and some centers have astronomical observatories and planetariums on the roof. The equipment is excellent. Even the centers in outlying Prefectures often have such advanced scientific equipment as electronic microscopes, X-ray machines, and 15-centimeter telescopes, all of which the teachers learn to use. They are also allowed to bring their classes to the centers for study and observation, especially during summer vacation.

The most remarkable aspect, according to Dr. Glass (who visited six of these centers), is the centers' staffing and programing. Each center has a permanent staff of 10 to 40 workers in the 4 disciplines (physics, chemistry, biology, and earth science). Each group includes a scientist and one experienced high schoolteacher or more, who work as a team to devise realistic programs especially suited to the local teachers' needs. The staff members plan and prepare, as well as teach, the courses of the center.

Courses vary with the school level, teaching subject, and experience of the teachers. The most common is an intensive, short workshop of 3 days to a week. For a few outstanding teachers, a longer course is occasionally held by the center. Of broader scope, this course is taught by a group of 25 outstanding teachers all day, 5 days a week, for 6 months to a year or two. Dr. Glass remarked that this in-depth training explains why the demonstration science teaching he observed at Mito was the best he had ever seen.[15] The graduates, now master teachers, return to their schools and revitalize the teaching in their specialties. In Toyama Prefecture they can serve in 31 district Science Education Centers in local schools strategically scattered throughout the Prefecture. In Iwate Prefecture, which has many isolated areas, specialists visit schools by light truck, specially equipped for science teaching, and provide on-the-spot training.

The staff members at the centers are well acquainted with the latest American science curriculum studies—the Biological Science Curriculum Study (BSCS), the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC), the Chemical Education Material Study (CHEMS), the Chemical Bond Approach Study (CBAS), and the Earth Science Curriculum Project (ESCP). These are modified to meet specific needs perceived by the centers' staff, and are presented to large groups of teachers in 1-week workshops.

The staffs of the centers around the country have organized into a council—a research group to share findings through conferences and publications—but members rarely have sufficient time for research since their energies are primarily absorbed by the workshops. Also the teachers in each Prefecture who have had the workshop experience have formed professional organizations in their specialties, and publish local journals. The National Government provides subsidies for these activities.

Although the Japanese now have the structure and the program for effective inservice training, there are problems. One is that the Prefectures and individual schools have insufficient funds. Also, many Prefectures would like to have their science teachers come in for refresher courses every 3 to 5 years, but because of the expense of the participants' travel and board, generally paid for by the Prefecture, this goal is seldom attained. The director of the Mito Center, M. Sato, estimated that, at the present retraining rate, it would take 10 years to retrain all the Ibaragi Prefecture teachers.[16]

Some financial support has come from the National Government. The initial success of this educational experiment was so dramatic that the Ministry of Education stepped in to provide support of about one-third the operating budgets and to assist in developing new centers. Then, when it became evident that a program of this caliber would be equally useful in mathematics, social studies, language, and other disciplines, the Government accordingly raised its subsidy to 30 million yen (over $100,000) to each center, with the idea that it would gradually expand to other subject areas and become a "comprehensive teaching center." [17] All except three centers did so, and were reorganized and renamed simply "Education Centers." They now cover all subjects, as well as student guidance. With the latter they planned to train counselors for all precollegiate levels of schooling.

Another problem is that, according to the centers' staff, national universities, generally located in the same cities as the new science centers, often have no relationship with them although their teacher-education specialists and scientists may be working in the same field.[18] This isolation can probably be attributed to the bureaucratic tendencies of some professors and their sense of competition with the centers' scientists.

The major problem, however, as Dr. Glass discovered, is the grim hold the university entrance examination system has over the science curriculums of the lower schools, with the all too familiar result—defeat of the new methods, new outlooks, and new content.[19] Despite this, says Dr. Glass, "the science education center in Japan may well represent the most significant educational experiment in our time." [20] Though not perfect, science education in Japan has, through the Science Education Centers become up-to-date and effective. The remarkable success of science teaching in Japanese junior high schools is evidenced by the fact that in the 1970 tests of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, the 10- and 14-year-old students of Japan scored highest in science subjects among the students of 16 nations.

Although the United States has National Science Foundation summer institutes and continuing education programs, it could well profit from the Japanese experience and construct permanently staffed centers for the inservice training of its teachers to overcome the obsolescence of preservice preparation.

Technical Education

The development of technical education is not as promising as that of scientific education. To the warning of industrialists that the country must improve its training of technical experts and skilled workers or fall behind in the race among the powers, the Ministry responded by ordering mathematics, science, and handicrafts to be improved and enriched in the elementary and junior high schools. It was hoped that this action would not only upgrade technical skills but overcome the still persistent anti-vocational bias of the public. In 1958 a new course, industrial arts or home-making, was required 3 hours per week for all junior high students. The purpose of the course was to introduce the students to practical skills for daily life—boys were to study woodworking, metal-working, electricity, drawing and machines, and girls were to learn cooking, housekeeping, use of home appliances, dressmaking, and child care.

This new course and a few other vocational courses each offered for 1 hour per week represent the extent to which the junior high offers technical education. Lacking general shops, it is ill-equipped for such responsibility. Though the number of students taking technical subjects has increased, most students continue to elect the academic track whether they intend to go on to senior high school or not. Consequently, the 10 or 20 percent who enter the working world directly from junior high generally do so unprepared. Fortunately, however, in recent years the demand for workers has far exceeded the supply, so the technical students are able to secure jobs easily and the hiring firms do their own training on the job.

Morals

When parents of junior high students were polled as to what items in the Government's education policy they would insist on being carried out, the largest group, particularly fathers over 51, replied *"morals."*[21] This response is evidence of parents' feeling of helplessness in the face of modern youth's disobedience and disregard for the old value of filial piety. In response to parental pressure, the morals course was revived and made compulsory in 1958, and the teacher of morals was urged to "endeavor [to] . . . deepen [students'] understanding about humanity, enhance their ability of moral judgment, and enrich their moral sense, thereby establishing self-control . . . ." In addition to teaching a special course, the morals instructor is to integrate and coordinate the morals lessons incorporated in other subjects, the goal being to promote students' mental and physical health and encourage them to lead a temperate and balanced life.[22]

Teaching morals to junior high students is more difficult and less successful than teaching it to elementary students. As in elementary school, it is generally handled by the homeroom teacher, who is rarely a specialist in the field but knows the students best and performs the major guidance function. The Ministry prescribed 21 moral goals for teachers in junior highs overlapping with the 36 (now 32) prescribed for elementary schools. The subjects treated in morals education during the 3 years of one (in Suzuka City, Miye Prefecture) junior high in the early sixties were as follows:[23]

	First Year (7th Grade)	Second Year (8th Grade)	Third Year (9th Grade)
First Term	Being a junior high pupil Economy and waste Courtesy in daily life School life and rules	Being a 2d-year pupil The cheerful class Keeping right personal opinions Reliance and generosity	Being a 3d-year pupil Justice and bravery Relations between men and women Bright hopes
Second Term	Autumn sports Let's study hard People I respect My merits and defects	Sportsmanship To live with good taste Delight in one's work My personal problems	Sports and life Worthy use of leisure Thanks and service Ideals and reality
Third Term	Your standpoint and mine Parents and children Friendship	Happy homelife Rational ways of thinking Freedom and responsibility	Myself and my country Dignity of human beings At graduation time

The aims and contents of each subject in the first term of the first year (seventh grade) were as follows: [24]

Subject	*Aims*	*Content*
Being a junior high pupil	To embrace new hopes and aspirations at the beginning of junior high To understand the aims of junior high life and of creative, cooperative human relationships as a class member	Lecture on school history facilities and rules Student self-introductions Impressions on entering school Discussion of my hopes and aspirations as a junior high student

Economy and waste	To understand the value of materials and money and to learn to use them rightly To acquire wholesome attitudes toward money and material things	Discussion of the right use of school things and pocket money Discussion on allowances and how pupils spend their money Lecture on the value of materials and the right use of them Discussion of the difference between thrift and miserliness
Courtesy in daily life	To understand that courtesy is necessary in collective life To acquire courtesy in daily life as a junior high student	Lecture on need for courtesy Discussion on greetings and [polite] usage Lecture and discussion on courtesy at home and at school, to teachers, friends, family, guests and neighbors
School life and rules	To understand the meaning of rules and regulations in collective life and try to improve them	Listing the rules of the school and commitments of the students Investigating what rules are not observed and why Discussion of why rules are not observed, and what should be done

Appendix E on page 367 lists the contents of junior high morals education as laid down in the revised "Course of Studies" for the 1970's.

The author observed junior high morals classes in various parts of the country in 1968. At Hiroshima the entering freshman class (seventh graders) of Ozu Junior High, an academic school, were being oriented to junior high school life. The first assignment was for each student to draw up his daily schedule. This indicated that the 12-year-old students were studying, on the average, 1 to 1½ hours an evening, watching TV 1½ to 2 hours, and sleeping 8 to 10 hours. (Five years later, the White Paper on Youth, 1973, reported that the average junior high student spent 2 hours and 10 minutes on homework.) The next class discussion took up the subject of efficient planning of one's time. One girl asked "Why must we study at home?" The class answers were typical: (1) "It will be useful for our future," (2) "It is for the future of Japan," and (3) "If one knows nothing, he will be ashamed." Out of a class of 40, 5 boys and 1 girl voted that they didn't like to study at all. When the class was asked to react to the question, "What is your favorite subject?" the spread of interest was characteristic of many in this age group. The entire class designated physical education as their first choice; 14 also liked social studies; 10, science; 10, art; 5, music; 5, mathematics; and 4, English. One girl liked homemaking; and one boy voted for the Japanese language.

The class broke up to discuss—"Why we study." They organized quickly. The recorders took meticulous notes, then summarized the discussion for all the class. The teacher demurred when one student reporter said, "Teachers and parents force students to study; therefore they don't like to." At the end of the hour the teacher said, "Think more about this subject and write an essay on it, due tomorrow." It turned out that the teacher had already visited each student's home and talked to the parents on how their child could best study. This family visitation is a part of the homeroom teacher's responsibility and serves as a form of guidance linking home and school.

A junior high in Shikoku provided different themes each month for the 3 years of morals study. These included, for example, freedom of the individual in relation to the group, the meaning of responsibility, loyalty to country and to international society, the dangers of egotism, the importance of pride in work. Such controversial issues as sex, politics, and class discrimination were avoided as too explosive.

In a third-year morals class in Toyama City, the teachers had requested the students to read their essays on "Service." The entire student body had been divided into eight service committees and each student had to serve on one, changing at the end of the semester. The eight committees were responsible for providing all the services of the school outside of teaching and administration. They had such tasks as: (1) Promoting learning (e.g., responsibility for all mimeographing); (2) enforcing school rules; (3) publishing the school newspaper; (4) serving the hot school lunch in classrooms; (5) school broadcasting during noon hours (e.g., reporting untidy students); (6) doing library work; (7) inspecting uniforms; and (8) enforcing health rules.

There was dissatisfaction with the way the committees were working, and the morals class was being devoted to airing student grievances. The complaint was that there was no committee assigned to do the cleaning necessary every day after school, so it was being done by a few girls. The girls objected and accused the boys of failing to cooperate. One boy, a committee leader responsible for inspecting uniforms, said that his job already took all his spare time, and he should not have to do cleaning in addition. Furthermore, he charged that on all committees the leaders did all the work, while regular members evaded their duty. The class then broke up into discussion groups for 3 to 4 minutes. In the reports brought back to class one group said, "We are opposed to this kind of enforced service." Most groups accepted the necessity for committees to get school chores done, but they agreed that a cleaning committee was not necessary, since this was a schoolwide responsibility in which all should participate.

In several schools the morals text was a series of essays entitled "Right Living," edited by Prof. Sanjuro Ishi of Tokyo University of Education. It included moralistic pieces illustrating the required virtues (appendix E, p. 367)—e.g., cooperate with others; obey the rules ("Rules are made to be followed, without asking questions"); stick to your own viewpoint if you are right, even though you might hurt others in doing so; overcome hardships; eliminate your bad points, strengthen your good points. (Several of the essay authors, incidentally, are Christians, although less than 0.5 percent of the Japanese are of this faith.)

One lesson, in a Niigata junior high, was on the subject most often protested by leftists: "Love of Our Country." The aim was stated in the lesson plan: "To stimulate in students a strong desire to develop our country and our community." The suggested questions, worked out by the local teachers on the basis of the national "Course of Studies" included "How can we make Niigata and Japan a better place to live?" and "What can we do as individuals?" The teacher was instructed to provide handouts on the state of the country. The students were to search in local newspapers for examples of people serving their community. The stated outcomes were to show the students how people work to make their country better and to help them realize that personal happiness can come out of such service. Further on in the course outline, another unit aimed to "let students think that to respect our traditional culture and create an even more splendid culture is a contribution to our country and a manifestation of our patriotism." The culminating activity was listening to a tape recording entitled "Good Points of Japan," with the intent, according to the outline, of making the students proud of being Japanese.

Despite valiant attempts by the school authorities to win student acceptance of the moral values of patriotism and good citizenship, and despite frequent Ministry workshops for morals teachers to increase class effectiveness, the course cannot be called a success. It still troubles teachers. They no longer violently oppose it, as their union urged them to do at first, but they are not enthusiastic about teaching it. Generally the students are bored. Some teachers observed by the author brought up issues that were relevant to the lives of students, such as "violence in society," but the most common topic, "duty of school cleaning," was imposed by school authorities and was simply not a significant student concern. In short, at the junior high level especially, the course teaches manufactured issues designed to point up traditional morals that no longer seem realistic or relevant to students' lives. To be effective, the course will probably have to come to grips with controversial or personal problems, such as the rights of young people in a traditional family, changing patterns of sex behavior, arranged marriages vs. love marriages, the examination torment, student participation in school policy and government, political issues, and the like. These the Government would reject as leading to radicalism, however, and few teachers would be prepared to handle them objectively. The morals course at the junior secondary level thus continues to be a preaching of official values that achieves little more than verbal acceptance by the students.

English

Japan has the largest mass program of teaching English of any non-English-speaking country in the world. It begins in the seventh grade, with classes meeting for 3 hours a week during the first 2 years and for 3 to 5 hours weekly in the third year (ninth grade). The official goals are to provide during this period a reading, writing, and speaking knowledge of English, as well as some understanding of the culture of its native speakers. Officially it is listed as an elective subject, but since it is a required subject on the high school and university entrance examinations, more than 95 percent of all students take it. Thus practically every young person in Japan has had at least 3 years of English in junior high, and if he has gone on to senior high, as more than 80 percent have, he has had 6 years. English is Japan's second language.

Despite the heavy investment in time and effort to learn English, the result has been far from successful. English is exceptionally difficult for one whose native language is Japanese because of the great difference in the linguistic structure and sound systems of the two languages. The difficulty has been compounded by inadequate teaching methods that have stressed reading and translation and ignored comparison of English and Japanese in the classroom.

Although there has been much improvement in English teaching in urban areas in the last few years, traditional methods still largely prevail. Just as Americans for so long taught modern languages by the reading-translation method employed for centuries in teaching Latin and Greek, so the Japanese have used (and often still use) in teaching English the reading-translation method traditionally used for teaching Chinese classics.

The procedure is as follows:

1. The teacher reads the text slowly, word by word, without adequate accent, correct intonation, or proper pauses.
2. Students repeat the text in chorus or individually, imitating the teacher, with all his faults.
3. The teacher or students translate the text.
4. The teacher explains difficult phrases, sentences, or grammatical rules.

During most of the class hour the teacher speaks in Japanese; there is little drill in speaking or hearing English. By this method the student may learn to read English with the help of an English-Japanese dictionary, but he is not able to hear, speak, or write the language adequately. His knowledge of grammar may be good, but in 3 years of study he has not learned to converse in English beyond a few greetings.

The main difficulty is that most of the 36,326 junior high school English teachers learned the language this way. They are merely perpetuating the only method known to them. Few have had the opportunity to hear the language spoken by a native, let alone practice it with one, so they pass on common errors, generation after generation.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that some junior high teachers of English majored in other fields, but so great was the need for English teachers that they were pressed into service with only the skills they retained from their own secondary schooling and the minimum requirement in college. So the majority of teachers have neither sufficient command of the English language nor the modern language teacher training necessary to teach it competently. Furthermore, the texts on which they rely are unliterary, unscientific from a linguistic viewpoint, and haphazard.[25]

The occupation-inspired "Course of Studies" in English placed primary emphasis on the oral-aural approach, but few teachers were able to teach in English and fewer students wanted to spend their limited time learning to speak it, since the entrance examination tested only the knowledge of the written language. The result is that the average teacher reverts to the old reading-translation method.

A growing number of English teachers, however, are aware of the vital importance of English to international communication, and many Government officials and teacher-consultants are dissatisfied with the situation. Some have studied in the United States and know the latest linguistic methods. In their professional organizations English teachers have for several years stressed the oral approach in inservice training courses. The Ministry is constantly seeking practical means to revise the teaching methods and reorient practicing teachers. One inservice course, especially for junior high teachers, brought in several Americans as consultants. They described their Japanese colleagues as follows:

> They were relatively young (25–30 years of age) and had at least two years of English-teaching experience. They were competent in terms of their training, but that competence did not include either fluency or accuracy in oral English; their control of English grammar was excellent in theory, but many of the common sentence-types of English were only "understood as rules" and not yet under comfortable habitual control in actual use.[26]

Many new programs of inservice training are currently being mounted that promise to improve this situation for both the struggling junior high school teacher and his pupil. (For further details on these new programs, see the section on English under "The Curriculum" in ch. 4 of this part, pp. 170–77.)

School Excursions

An integral part of the educational program at elementary and junior high levels, and the climax of a student's schooling at each level, is the spring excursion in the graduation year. Under this program the sixth graders of elementary schools and the junior high ninth graders, accompanied by their teachers, make gay treks to some historic site or beauty spot. (The 11th graders in senior high also make a similar trip before settling down to cram for the university examination in their final year.) The average junior high excursion is 5 days in length. It is planned at least a year in advance, mostly by the school authorities, but one-third of the schools now have joint student-teacher planning. It is very popular with the students, who put money aside monthly for the cost. The target generally is a historic, cultural site like Tokyo, Kyoto, Nara, Nikko, or Kamakura. Fleets of buses carry millions of children and youth on their annual excursions. Special trains for student excursions have also been put into service recently.

There are pros and cons, debated in the public press, about this long-standing custom. With increased traffic there is always the danger of accidents. Recently in Yamanashi Prefecture an excursion bus collided with a truck and several students and teachers were killed. Furthermore, most trips are on a low budget, with an average cost of $17.50 for junior high students (the longer senior high trips cost about $35). This buys only minimal accommodations in today's high-cost Japan. Children are crowded into dormitories and are forced to walk for miles. The result is that often teachers and students return home exhausted.

Those in favor stress the great educational value of the experience, and argue that since many of the poorer students must go to work immediately after graduation, this may be their last chance to see their country. The experience of living together and sharing responsibilities leaves unforgettable memories. It helps cement classmate ties that will last a lifetime.

In affluent Japan there are now no serious objections to the cost, as there were formerly. In some cases the PTA provides funds for poor children to make the trip; in other cases, the prefectural offices cover such costs. The excursions are likely to continue, and to contribute to some of the young people's appreciation of the remarkable beauties and culture of their native land.

SUMMARY

The 3-year junior high or lower secondary school was a new cycle of education introduced by the occupation, and as such was at its beginning flexible and innovative. It is less so now, having been well integrated into the total educational structure as the concluding part of the compulsory years. The prescribed curriculum includes nine required courses each year, including a special class in morals meeting 1 hour a week, plus 1½ hours of special extra curricular activities, such as student government and clubs. In addition, a student must take 4 hours weekly of electives each year. As electives, most college-bound students take 3 years of English and an extra advanced course in mathematics in the third year. For the job-bound student a variety of 1- to 2-hour vocational subjects are available as electives, and English is also often taken, although the utility of the latter for working youth is now being challenged by the Government, teachers, and students.

Four major subjects—Japanese, social studies, mathematics, and science—receive the greatest attention. Courses in the Japanese language take a large portion of the student's time, not only because it is an essential communication skill, but also because of the difficulty of mastering the complicated Chinese character system. Social studies is emphasized by the Government because it is the vehicle for developing loyal and patriotic citizens with a deep "national defense consciousness." Mathematics and science enjoy high priority, not necessarily because students prefer them, but largely because the public has traditionally considered them important foundations for a student's career and effective for inculcating mental discipline. The recent guidelines laid down by the Central Council for Education emphasized mathematics "to give the learners a basis for logical thinking." [27]

Technical education at the junior high school level, while important to Japan's industrial progress, still suffers from low prestige, and is generally unpopular and neglected. Morals instruction is considered to be somewhat separate from the regular curriculum but important for character training. Although highly structured around a fixed body of 21 prescribed moral practices, it still presents a problem to the teacher. Since some of the values emphasized seem irrelevant to the younger generation and the subject is not part of the senior high school entrance examination, most students and teachers dislike it and pay little attention to it.

English, officially an elective, is in reality virtually required, with most students taking it. It is required in both the senior high school and university entrance examinations, which accounts in part for its popularity. English is Japan's second language, but after a century of teaching it in the schools, it is still not a functional language for most people. Many teachers know the modern methods of teaching it, but the traditionally oriented examination system militates against their using them, as it also blocks widespread adoption of many new methods in mathematics and science. If Japan is to develop skilled international spokesmen who will enable it to assume a role of greater involvement and leadership in the world, the problem of effective English teaching at the junior (as well as senior) high school level must be solved.

The guidelines for junior high schools suggested by the Central Council for Education provide for teaching "certain standardized, fundamental, well-chosen essentials [28]—i.e., a fixed body of knowledge plus an officially determined set of moral principles—and, on the basis of these "essentials," to provide the student with guidance in selecting his future goals. Thus, by the early 1970's, the flexible "exploratory" program of the junior high schools of the early postwar days was largely converted into an increasingly structured, essentialist curriculum.

NOTES

[1] *Sankei Shimbun,* in "Press Comments," *Japan Times,* Feb. 13, 1963.

[2] The job-bound in a Yokohama junior high beat up their academic-bound classmates when the former were taken out of class and forced to plant trees for the graduation memorial. *Mainichi,* Feb. 13, 1963.

[3] *Japan Times,* Feb. 8, 1969.

[4] John A. Brownell, *Japan's Second Language* (Champaign, Ill., National Council of Teachers of English, 1967), p. 24.

[5] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Chugakko Gakushu Shido Yoryo* (Junior High School Course of Study), (Tokyo, The Ministry, 1969, pp. 28-29). Also available in English under the title, *Revised Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools in Japan* (Tokyo, Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1969).

[6] Ibid., p. 41.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Sankei Shimbun,* Jan. 25, 1968, in *Daily Press Translations* (Tokyo, U.S. Embassy, Jan. 31, 1968), pp. 5–6.

[9] *New York Times,* Mar. 7, 1967. For the complete study see T. Husen, ed., *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics—a Comparison of 12 Countries* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1967).

[10] H. F. Fehr, "The Mathematics Program in Japanese Secondary Schools," *The Mathematics Teacher,* vol. 59 (October 1966), pp. 578–79.

[11] Shigeru Shimada, "Mathematics Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools," in Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Science Education in Japan—Views and Ideas* (Tokyo, the Commission, 1968), p. 4.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

[13] Setsuko Mitsuhashi, "Conceptions and Images of the Physical World, A Comparison of Japanese and American Pupils," *Comparative Education Review,* vol. 6 (October 1962), p. 143.

[14] Bentley Glass, "Education in our Changing Times," in *The Spaulding Distinguished Lectures* (Durham, N.H., The University of New Hampshire Press, 1968), pp. 44–45.

[15] Bentley Glass, "The Science Education Centers," *Science,* vol. 154 (Oct. 14, 1966), p. 47.

[16] Glass, "Education in Our Changing Times," op. cit., p. 222.

[17] Hideo Ohashi, "The System and Programme of Science Education," in Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Science Education in Japan—Views and Ideas,* loc cit., p. 103.

[18] Ibid., p. 104.

[19] Glass, "The Science Education Centers," op. cit., p. 227.

[20] Ibid., p. 228.

[21] *Naikaku Soridaijin Kambo Koho Shitsu (Prime Minister's Office for Public Opinion), Chosa Hokoku Sho (Survey Report),* (Tokyo, the Prime Minister's Office, 1963), p. 29.

[22] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Revised Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools in Japan,* loc. cit., p. 235.

[23] Adapted from Mamoru Oshiba, *Four Articles on Japanese Education* [Kobe, Maruzen Kabushiki Kaisha, c. 1963], p. 40. Reprinted by the author.

[24] Ibid., pp. 36–37.

[25] Brownell, op. cit., pp. 61–88, is a revealing content analysis of the most widely used English-language readers for junior and senior high school.

[26] Patricia O'Connor and W. F. Twaddell, "Intensive Training for an Oral Approach in Language Teaching," *The Modern Language Journal,* vol. 44 (February

1960), as quoted in Sumako Kimizuka, *Teaching English to Japanese* (Los Angeles, Anchor Enterprises, 1968), p. 25.

[27] The Central Council for Education, *The Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Elementary and Secondary Education (Interim Report)*, (Tokyo, the Ministry of Education, 1970), p. 12.

[28] Ibid., p. 11.

CHAPTER 4

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

OVERVIEW

Enrollment

The recent increase in the proportion of youth going on to senior high (or upper secondary) school—not part of the compulsory education cycle—has been phenomenal. It exceeded 50 percent for the first time in 1954 and reached 80 percent in 1970. As of May 1972, about 90 percent of the Nation's 15-year-old youth entered senior high school. These schools served about 4,155,000 students (table 1, p. 107). However, with the drop in population resulting from family planning, the actual number of students at this level has gradually decreased in recent years. To be sure, the loss is not uniform in all areas: in the more sophisticated and affluent urban areas, a larger number of youth go on to high school than in the rural regions. Furthermore, ambitious rural youth often flock to the more prestigious urban schools, crowding them still more.

Streams

In the 1971-72 school year, approximately one-third of the full-time senior highs were comprehensive, offering both a general (academic) and a specialized (vocational) curriculum; slightly more than one-third offered only a general curriculum; and the balance (vocational high schools) offered one or more specialized vocational programs only.

In order to provide for students' widely differing aptitudes and abilities, the new "Course of Studies" that went into effect in 1973 offered as electives not only an accelerated course in science and mathematics for outstanding students (only one such class permitted to a Prefecture), but also simplified or watered-down general mathematics and basic science courses for students of lower ability. In addition, simplified courses in English were offered for students who did not take it in junior high school.

So great is the prestige of the college preparatory (general academic) stream in comparison with the vocational stream (and the vocational high school) that most students, girls as well as boys, elect the academic course even though they do not really intend to go on to college. The manpower needs of industrialized Japan focus on the demand for more middle-level technicians, which the senior highs could—but do not—adequately supply. Various measures have been taken to encourage more students to shift from academic to vocational preparation. For example, in Toyama Prefecture the board of education and the governor carried out an experiment in which 70 percent of the students were directed into vocational senior highs, while the remaining 30 percent went to the ordinary, primarily academic senior high. This plan, called the 7:3 plan, was an attempt to build up a reservoir of much-needed technicians. But the students and their parents, as well as some teachers, protested the plan's arbitrary nature.

Financing and Control

Prefectures, municipalities, and private bodies may establish senior high schools. All senior high schools—even public ones—charge tuition. In 1972, prefectural public high schools charged 9,600 yen to 12,000 yen, the equivalent at that time of some $31 to $40 per year. Total annual costs to parents for public schooling at this level (not including clothes, room and board, and extras) amounted to about $160 per year.[1]

Private high schools, which comprise almost one-fourth of all senior high schools, have difficulty competing with the better financed public schools. Ministry statistics for 1972 showed that private schools charged vastly higher tuition than public schools—a national average of the equivalent of $161 per year. Furthermore, they generally have less prestige. A school's status depends on its success in getting its graduates into Tokyo University. When a private high school in Kobe, Nada Senior High, succeeded in getting a larger number of its graduates into this university than any other school in the country, it became the leading secondary school in the Nation. By doing so, it outstripped even the traditional leader, Hibiya Senior High—a public high school. It is interesting to note that Nada's success is often attributed to the fact that it has a junior high division attached to it, and thus the same teachers coach the students through 6 years, constantly pointing toward the exam. An even more important reason, however, is that it selects excellent elementary school graduates to begin with, and hires only the most qualified teachers. A news report on the school also noted Nada's guidance program, observing that "thorough individual guidance is carried out" among its students.[2]

For the most part, private high schools are ailing. When enrollments were expanding rapidly, as in the early 1960's, many private schools were built as commercial ventures. With the beginning of the decline in student population at the secondary level, however, the private schools were the first to be affected. Of the 1,227 private schools open in 1968, almost 60 percent had lost students. Some are being forced out of business. They appeal to the Government for help, but it generally offers little aid, often on the grounds that such assistance might preserve some poor-quality school that probably would eventually have to close anyway. Girls' private high schools are hedging by applying for junior college status, for this level of schooling is still in great demand by girls preparing for marriage. Authorities in schools with such status can hope to persuade parents of the advantages of enrolling their daughters, because entrance to the junior college on the same campus is guaranteed automatically with no examination. In the longer run, however, only the long-established private girls' schools with a reputation for excellence (some of whom have Christian mission backing) are secure.

The Hierarchy of Schools

Each Prefecture has a hierarchy of senior high schools based on the history, date of establishment, and prestige of the prewar institution to which each school succeeded. Senior high schools are sometimes numbered according to seniority, from the oldest, designated as "First High School," on down to the "Sixth" or "Seventh," which are generally schools of less quality. The top-ranked institution in the Prefecture is often a direct descendant of the prewar "First Middle School" in that area. In such a case, the school often attempts to perpetuate past tradition: it will endeavor to be highly selective and remain an elite school in the academic track leading to an even more elite university.

Such a school provides 3 years of rigorous study, most of which points directly to the university entrance exam. In one elite high school, streaming, based on entrance examination scores, occurs immediately after admission. The top 50 students are put into a homogeneous class of the gifted, while the second 50 form a class of only slightly less excellence;[3] both classes take an accelerated program in each subject. The remaining students are mixed together without further ability grouping, and proceed at a more leisurely pace, though many still hold aspirations for going on to the university. In their third year, students unable to afford a university education or to pass an entrance examination, are placed in a separate vocational class and given special instruction and guidance in finding jobs.

Girls rarely attempt entry to such an elite school as the prefectural "First High School" unless they are very bright and ambitious, and unless they entertain hopes for admission to a first-class university and a professional career. The public considers this path unfeminine and few females elect it. The average girl, planning marriage, will gravitate to the former "First Girls' Higher School," which still retains its tradition as a select girls' school and, though nominally coeducational, has few male students.

Table 4.—Sample senior high school general program, college preparatory course: 1973–74[1]

Area	Subject[2]	Year 1	Year 1 or 2	Year 2	Year 2 or 3	Year 3	Total credits for area
Grand total							*102*
	Curricular						
Total							[3]91
Japanese language	Modern Japanese	3		2		2	
	Classics I–B	2		3			1
	Classics II					3	
Social studies	Ethics-civics				2		
	Political science–economics				3		
	Japanese history				3		15
	World history		4				
	Geography A		3				
	Geography B						
Mathematics	Mathematics I	6					
	Mathematics II–B			5			14
	Mathematics III					3	
Science	Physics I	3		3			
	Chemistry I						
	Biology I	3		3			15
	Earth science I						
	Physics II					3	
	Chemistry II						
	Biology II						
	Earth science II						
Health and physical education	Health and physical education						
	Boys	4		4		3	13
	Girls	2		2		3	9
Fine arts	Music I	2		2			4
	Fine arts I						
	Handicrafts I						
	Calligraphy I						
	Music II						
	Fine arts II						
	Handicrafts II						
	Calligraphy II						
Foreign language	English B	5		5		5	15
	German						
	French						
	Other language						
Homemaking (girls)	General homemaking	2		2			4
	Noncurricular						
Total							11
Homeroom and club activities		2		2		2	6
Additional credits							5

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[1] Effective April 1973.

[2] "A" means a general study of the subject; "B" means an advanced study of it. "I" and "II" indicate a sequence of courses; "I" is prerequisite to "II."

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo: the Agency, 1972), p. 22.

Table 5.—Sample senior high school general program, terminal course: 1973–74 [1]

Areas	Subjects [2]	Years			Total for area
		1st year	2d year	3d year	
Japanese language	Modern Japanese	3	3	4	
	Classics I–A	2			15
	Classics II			3	
Social studies	Ethics-civics			2	
	Political science–economics			3	
	Japanese history			3	16
	World history	4			
	Geography B	4			
Mathematics	Mathematics I	3	3		
	Mathematics II–A			4	10
Science	Physics I	3	3	3	9
	Chemistry I				
	Biology I				
	Earth science I				
Health and physical education	Health	2			
	Physical education				
	Boys	4	4	4	(B)14
	Girls	2	2	4	(G)10
Fine arts	Music I		2	2	6
	Fine arts I				
	Handicrafts I				
	Calligraphy I				
	Music II				
	Fine arts II				
	Handicrafts II				
	Calligraphy II				
	Music III				
	Fine arts III				
	Handicrafts III				
	Calligraphy III				
Foreign language	One of the following:				
	English A	3	3	3	
	Elementary English	or			
	or English conversation	2	2	2	3–9
		or			
	English conversation	3			
Homemaking (girls)	General homemaking	2	2		
	Other homemaking			2	(G)6
Vocational subjects	Boys				6–15
	Girls				7–13
		(over the 3-year period)			
Homeroom and club activities		2	2	2	6
Additional elective credits					8

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[1] Effective April 1973.

[2] "A" means a general study of the subject; "B" means an advanced study of it. "I" and "II" indicate a sequence of courses; "I" is prerequisite to "II."

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo: the Agency, 1972), p. 22.

Table 6.—Sample senior high school vocational program, industrial arts (mechanical specialty): 1973–74[1]

Areas	Subjects[2]	Total credits in years 1, 2, & 3
Grand total		100–05
General Subjects		
Total		51
Japanese language	Modern Japanese	7
	Classics I–A	2
Social studies	Ethics-civics	2
	Political science–economics	2
	Japanese history or world history	3
	Geography A or geography B	3
Mathematics	Basic mathematics or mathematics I	6
	Applied mathematics	3
Science	Basic science or one of the following: physics I, chemistry I, biology I, and earth science	6
Health and physical education	Health	2
	Physical training	7
Fine arts	Music I or fine arts I or handicrafts I or calligraphy I	2
Foreign language	Elementary English or English A	6
Vocational Subjects		
Total		43–48
	Machine-shop practice	14
	Mechanical drawing	9
	Machine design	7
	Machine-shop theory	6
	Prime mover	3
	Industrial measurement automatic control	2
	Materials for machine works or industrial management or general electricity or industrial English	2–7
Homeroom and Club Activities		
Total		6

[1] Effective April 1973.
[2] "A" means a general study of the subject; "B" means an advanced study of it. "I" and "II" indicate a sequence of courses; "I" is prerequisite to "II."

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo: the Agency, 1972), p. 24.

Table 7.—Sample senior high school vocational program, business: 1973–74[1]

Areas	Subjects[2]	Total credits in years 1, 2, and 3
Grand total		101–103 Boys (B) 105–107 Girls (G)
General Subjects		
Total		57 (B) 61 (G)
Japanese language	Modern Japanese	7
	Classics I–A	2
Social studies	Ethics-civics	2
	Political science–economics	2
	Japanese history or world history	3
	Geography A or geography B	3
Mathematics	Basic mathematics or mathematics I	6
Science	Basic science or one of the following: physics I, chemistry I, biology I, and earth science	6
Health and physical education	Health	2
	Physical training	7
Fine arts	Music I or fine arts I or handicrafts I or calligraphy I	2
Foreign language	English A or English B	15
Domestic arts	General homemaking	4 (G)
Vocational Subjects		
Total		38–40
	General business	3
	Business management	3
	Business law	3
	Bookkeeping and accounting I	4
	Bookkeeping and accounting II	2
	Bookkeeping and accounting III	3
	Industrial bookkeeping	3
	Bank bookkeeping	2
	Machine bookkeeping	4
	Tax bookkeeping	2
	Accounting practice	4
	Business calculation	5–7
Homeroom and Club Activities		
Total		6
Homeroom and club activities		6

[1] Effective April 1973.

[2] "A" means a general study of the subject; "B" means an advanced study of it. "I" and "II" indicate a sequence of courses; "I" is prerequisite to "II."

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo: the Agency, 1972), p. 25.

FULL-TIME SCHOOLS

Comprehensive High Schools

As indicated previously, the comprehensive high school provides two major choices for students. These are (1) the general curriculum, which includes a college preparatory course (table 4, p. 150), and a terminal course (table 5, p. 151)—the latter being a less demanding course designed for those who intend seeking employment on graduation but have not yet chosen a specific vocation; and (2) the specialized curriculum, offering either vocational or nonvocational courses. The specialized vocational courses (tables 6 and 7, pp. 152 and 153) include specific tracks such as commerce, which in 1972 drew about 16 percent of the students, industrial arts (13 percent), agriculture (5 percent), home economics (5 percent), and fisheries (4 percent). Specialized, nonvocational courses include advanced subjects in sucs areas as science-mathematics, music, and the fine arts.

The most common type of comprehensive high school offers the academic course plus only one vocational track. In the first year at this type of school, all students enroll in general education; in the second year, the students with vocational objectives are separated from the college-bound; and in the third year, those destined for college are classified according to area of specialization—(1) the humanities and social sciences, or (2) science and technology. The academic stream is by far the most popular, even for the job-bound students. Almost 60 percent of all students elect the academic stream, although about 40 percent of those who do so go to work immediately upon graduation. The vocational stream holds such comparatively low prestige that it is reported that in one high school most of the students taking commerce were those who failed to qualify for the academic stream in the same school. In another comprehensive high school, the girls preferred not to take home economics and elected instead to take the academic course, because taking home economics would have branded them as inferior and would jeopardize their chances for a good marriage.

Vocational High Schools

Although vocational high schools are generally considered low-prestige schools that can recruit only youth of lower ability, they do command greater esteem than the vocational stream of the comprehensive high school. Industrial high schools, for example, are often well equipped and offer good training. These institutions appeal to farmers' sons as well as to sons of industrial workers, since the former now see greater opportunity and a higher standard of living for themselves in industry. For boys without financial resources, the vocational school is a godsend. It is not a dumping ground for lower ability youth, as it is in some instances in the

United States. The entrance examinations to some of the good industrial schools are as difficult as those for good academic schools.

The agricultural high school, based on the prewar agricultural school, is losing clientele and prestige as the need for farmers decreases and farming becomes less attractive as a vocation. Out of about 4 million students in all senior high schools, only slightly more than 200,000 are in agricultural courses. And only about a third of the agricultural graduates go back to the farm or work in the agricultural sector. A major trend in agricultural education at the high school level is toward gradual elimination of general courses in favor of specialized agricultural courses in such diversified areas as animal husbandry, landscaping, food processing, and tropical agriculture. In fact, as the country becomes predominantly industrial, the agricultural high school is now preparing rural youth for other jobs in the town and village and places less emphasis on training students to become farmers.

The major shortcoming of vocational high schools is that they are terminal. This aspect has been questioned by both Japanese and foreign observers. "It should be possible," said a survey team of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1970, "for the agriculture, commerce, and engineering departments of most universities to offer entrance examinations which could be taken by graduates from vocational upper secondary schools and to provide university courses adopted to their needs. . . . [If such advanced training were available] the vocational high schools [would] cease to become blind alley schools . . . ."[4] They would then be more attractive to youth and more efficient as selectors and trainers of talent. Unfortunately, this option is not at present open and thus vocational high schools are considered second-rate institutions.

Although students graduating from vocational high schools are not eligible to go on to the university, job opportunities for them have been quite good. For the past decade the demand for vocational graduates has greatly exceeded the supply, and a critical shortage of technicians for expanding industry, especially middle-level technicians, still prevailed in 1975.

Technical Colleges

In response to the shortage of technicians, certain business and industrial leaders proposed a solution that was enthusiastically supported by the Ministry of Education in the early 1960's. It called for establishing a differentiated, 5-year technical college (*kosen*), open to graduates of the junior high school, that would provide youth a sustained period of intensive vocational-technical training. (Appendix C on p. 363 contains excerpts concerning technical colleges from the 1961 supplementary provisions to the School Education Law.) The proposed curriculum emphasized science, mathematics, and English, as well as technical subjects, and consisted of 40 hours of class and laboratory work per week.

The proposal was opposed by the junior college authorities, the socialists, and the Japan Teachers Union as a "backward step, a breach of the postwar educational reforms."[5] It was looked upon by these groups as a revival of the old prewar technical colleges, with their narrow training, and as a major move away from the single-track ideal of the reform period. Nevertheless, the first institutions of this type were opened in 1962. At a cost of 3 times the per capita investment for regular high school pupils, the Government has given the *kosens* ample support and maintained high teaching standards in them. They are well equipped with the latest machinery and technical apparatus. Junior high school graduates, especially poor boys, are greatly attracted to these technical colleges because they provide a thorough vocational education. Industry has quickly absorbed the graduates and paid them well. The new schools are clearly a success. But as with the vocational high schools, they provide an absolutely terminal education. The OECD survey team suggested the remedial measure of permitting *kosen* graduates to enter the second, if not the third, year of the university, and thus to articulate the *kosen* with academic higher education.[6] If this should be done, the new technical colleges will have achieved further success in elevating the status of vocational education. (For additional information on these institutions, see ch. 5 of this part—"Proposed Reforms," pp. 183–84; and "Technical Colleges," pp. 200–201.)

PART-TIME SCHOOLS

Part-time programs are offered in day courses and evening courses, with the latter being more common. Class hours for the evening course are from 5 to 9 p.m., with a half-hour break for supper (i.e., "school lunch") at 6 p.m. To enable the economically disadvantaged to attend, the Government passed a special law providing national subsidies for a school lunch program for students attending part-time courses held in full-time high schools that already have lunch programs for their regular day students. A substantial supper is provided for a nominal cost (1,200 yen or $3.33 a month) to the student, with the Government standing about two-thirds of the cost. In 1970, about 88 percent of all students in the part-time schools received some sort of "school lunch," about half of them getting a full meal.

Nearly 10 percent of all senior high school students are enrolled in the part-time program. This proportion has been gradually decreasing in the last few years as the Nation became more affluent and more students from the working class and from rural regions could afford to go on to full-time senior high schools. The annual per-pupil cost of part-time students is 10 percent less than that for full-time students.

Course offerings are roughly comparable to those of the regular day school, though not as rich or varied. Extracurricular club activities considered important are integrated with the school program. Housed in the same facility as the full-time school, and often taught by the same teachers, many part-time courses are of almost equal quality to their full-time counterparts. In 1971 the additional pay for teachers instructing part-time courses was raised from 7 percent to 10 percent of their regular salary.

Although applicants to the part-time school are required to take a scholastic achievement test as part of the application procedure, generally all are admitted. This test is scheduled later than the qualifying examination for the full-time senior high schools, providing a last chance for those who fail to qualify for the better schools. Some part-time schools have been virtually taken over by such failures, and thus the original purpose of making opportunity available to youths from poorer families has been subverted. Further, it is reported that many part-time schools imitate the full-time high school, preparing their students for university entrance exams and neglecting the needs of working youth. One in Shinjuku, Tokyo, even divided its third year into academically and nonacademically oriented programs in mathematics, as does the full-time school, and reduced the hours for the job-bound, giving them abacus lessons instead of advanced mathematics.[7]

Among the Japanese, the part-time senior high school is widely considered inferior to the full-time day school. The education it provides is terminal for most of its students, but a few do aspire to attending a university or junior college. Of the students in an evening school in Chiba, 20 percent were reported to be considering college, even though such study would have to be supported by a higher education fellowship or employment. In general, graduation from part-time schools opens few doors to either higher education or better job opportunities, since preferred employers often bar graduates of part-time schools from sitting for the examination to enter their firms. These graduates are thus relegated to accepting lesser jobs in smaller companies.

THE STUDENT

School Life

The senior high student takes great pride in his status and the traditions of his school. The uniform bearing the school insignia on its brass buttons is standard attire, just as it is in junior high. The author queried high school students in Hokkaido on their reaction to the requirement of wearing a uniform. The girls favored it, saying that they felt more disciplined in it. Moreover, they said they could study better under these conditions, since they were not distracted by a competitive concern for wearing attractive clothes. Most boys opposed the requirements on the grounds that it gave them away when they were visiting the forbidden *pachinko* (pinball) parlors. There was, however, no objection to uniforms on the basis of their promoting conformity, except on the part of one teacher.

The pressure on the student to study is even greater than in junior high, since the university entrance exam is the most difficult of all. At a time when the adolescent student should focus on attaining self-awareness and improving his interpersonal relationships, he is compelled instead to devote this precious period of his life to memorizing fragmented facts and learning to pass exams. His natural exuberance is thwarted; he often becomes alienated. This period is sometimes referred to as "the grey springtime of life."

In spite of this pressure, students find time for a wide variety of extracurricular activities, which are organized as "clubs." These clubs have great autonomy, although they are under the guidance of a faculty sponsor or coach. In a private high school in Tokyo in the mid-1960's, there were 33 clubs, of which 20 were for sports and 13 for cultural activities.[8] The sports clubs included Western as well as Japanese sports; e.g., baseball as well as judo, and the cultural clubs included a wide variety of activities, some of which would normally be incorporated into the curriculum in the United States. There are also various music clubs, which focus on chorus, mandolin, jazz, folksongs, and *koto* (Japanese harp); and art clubs, which specialize in painting or calligraphy, both traditional and abstract. In addition, organizations are formed for those interested in *haiku* (a poetic form), drama, debate, stamp collecting, comic book collecting, or activities sponsored by the YMCA, the YWCA, or UNESCO. More academic clubs include those concerned with astronomy, earth sciences, and modern history. One of the most popular and common organizations is the English-Speaking Society. This club will meet every day in some schools and prepare to engage in interschool speech contests.

At the beginning of the school year all clubs solicit members through poster advertisements and demonstrate their offerings in the school yard to attract new students. Two-thirds of the high school students, according to a national poll, join clubs and participate in their activities. The rest do not care to join, or cannot because they must commute.[9] Despite widespread and active student involvement in the clubs, it is a highly expendable facet of school life, and at the first sign of interference with studies students withdraw quickly from participation in these organizations. In the senior year, especially, students cramming for the university entrance examination have no time for clubs.

Extracurricular club activities, the homeroom, student body associations, and school events are considered by school authorities to be a primary means of guidance—hence essential to the well-rounded development of the high school student. The 1970's "Course of Studies" for high schools requires that one 50-minute class period be devoted to a homeroom meeting each week and that at least 1 other class hour be set aside for club activities. An adequate number of hours must also be allocated to student body activities and to school events, such as ceremonies, athletic meetings, and school excursions—all according to the situation of the particular region and school.

The overall goal of these extracurricular activities is to help students "respect each other as human beings, deepen mutual friendships, and develop the habit of observing group discipline, respecting responsibility, and cooperating for the development of their life together." [10]

Accordingly, each high school has its own student government association, which, however, does not always fulfill the authorities' goals. Student government in high schools is becoming a political tool, much as it has become in the universities. Representatives of the major factions of the Zengakuren, the national radical student movement, are recruiting high school students to prepare them for participation as activists when they reach the university. In 1968 the author was informed by public security authorities that out of a total of 4,800 high schools, 930 had active pro-Communist Party (the moderate group) Zengakuren organizations with 10,000 members, while 350 high schools, including some of the prestige high schools in the big cities, had anti-Communist Party (the violent group) Zengakuren clubs with 3,000 members. Senior high students wearing distinctive helmets sometimes take to the streets in their own demonstrations against such issues as the Government's policy of "defense-conscious" education.[11] During recent graduation ceremonies student protest has been manifested in dozens of high schools. Valedictorians have protested such things as the "creeping control" by the Ministry of Education. Some graduates have blockaded graduation ceremonies; others have torn up their diplomas or walked out of the auditorium en masse. (Student protest is discussed more fully in pt. III, ch. 4.)

Student Attitudes

Concerned with the antiestablishment attitudes of students and their potential delinquency, the Government regularly asks its polling organization in the Prime Minister's Office to conduct nationwide youth opinion surveys. One such survey in 1967 included the opinions of senior high school students.[12]

When asked "Why are you going to high school?" more than half replied, "it will be helpful in the future" and "will contribute to my own betterment." Only 2 percent said it was because school was interesting. When queried as to their future goals, about 25 percent answered "[I want] to live my own life without thinking of money and fame," and another 25 percent said their goal was "marrying a good person and living an enjoyable life" [13] (an apparent reflection of the current "my homeism" [soft-living] attitude of youth mentioned in pt. I, ch. 1).

The Government's greatest concern, however, is students' lack of patriotism. To test the reaction of youth to patriotic symbols that were denigrated for years after the war, the question was asked, "How do you feel when you hear that a foreigner has torn down or burned the Japanese flag?" Only 12 percent said they would feel insulted, while the majority (54.6 percent) said they would feel uncomfortable or a little uncomfortable (24.4 percent), and 8 percent said they would have no feelings about the matter. Regarding the national anthem, only 20 percent said they were often moved when they heard it; about half admitted they were sometimes moved, while 1 out of 3 said that they were not very often or never moved.[14] In another poll only 14 percent felt it admirable to defend their country.[15]

Although the self-image of the Japanese was badly damaged by defeat in World War II, the poll of the high school students indicated the beginning of a resurgence of a certain national pride: 75 percent rated the Japanese as a superior or very superior people, 21.3 percent felt they were not so superior, and 2.2 percent said they were not at all superior.[16] Almost 3 out of 4 said they were glad to have been born in Japan, but only 6 percent indicated they would go to any trouble to "fulfill their duty as Japanese." From this evidence, the *Japan Times* concluded that "the ordinary concepts of nationalism and its adjunct patriotism are extremely weak among youth. Furthermore, pacificism has deep roots in postwar Japan because of universal abhorrence of war . . . . The dilemma of the postwar world is that Japanese youth lack a focal point for their loyalties. If it is not the Nation, what is it? The home, the company, the school, the religion . . .? So the conservative leaders introduce "morals" in a vain effort to fix the loyalties on the country, and, selfishly, their own party . . . ." [17]

The high school opinion poll further revealed that the major anxieties of students centered on personal matters of their future (26.7 percent), fear of failing in studies (18.4 percent), admission to the university (12.1 percent), and securing a job (10.3 percent). Only a few students listed other worrisome considerations—their own health or world problems. Obtaining proper advice when they were troubled presented a major difficulty. Half of them felt that the best way to solve their anxieties was to work them out themselves, without help. Another 22.4 percent consulted close friends. A meager 7.7 percent turned to their parents, and a surprising few (only 2.7 percent) sought out their teachers for assistance.[18]

A 1972 study of youth aged 18 to 24 from 11 countries was reported in an ambitious World Youth Survey made by the Youth Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office. It showed that about 55 percent of Japanese youth were "more or less satisfied" (38 percent) or "fully satisfied" (17 percent) with their school life. The remaining 45 percent were very dissatisfied or partially so. The major causes for dissatisfaction were: (1) schools tend to evaluate students merely on the basis of examination results and give little attention to their human qualities; and (2) schools tend to place too much emphasis on mere memorization of knowledge at the cost of creativity. Most of the young people were satisfied with the degree of strictness in manners and morals at home and in school. Only 35 percent of the girls and 29.5 percent of the boys desired more discipline at school.[19]

A poll of junior and senior high students taken in 1969 by the Tokyo metropolitan government showed that 30 percent were satisfied with school life, 50 percent were neutral toward it, and 20 percent were dissatisfied. As in the 1967 nationwide survey cited above, more than half the Tokyo students reported that they received no advice on their problems from any source—parents, friends, or teachers—and consequently felt frustrated and alienated. A newspaper commentator, reacting to this poll, pointed to the obvious need for guidance in these formative years, and said there were too few professional counselors in the schools.[20] Unfortunately, few high schools have counselors, so the busy homeroom teacher generally must fulfill this role.

Increasing Freedom

The burgeoning student power in high schools was illustrated by a situation observed by the author in an academic senior high school in Nagoya in 1968. The school had a tradition of student autonomy, always held within limits. There was now a rising protest against the limits. On a Saturday morning the homerooms were being given over to discussion of the school "cultural festival" to be held in 3 months. Students were challenging the faculty and administration's control over the festival. The faculty wanted it to be an educational experience, while the students wanted it to be recreational (but with political overtones). The students proposed a masked parade, bonfires, and folk dancing; the teachers felt this was too frivolous and were determined to schedule the usual gymnastic performance, choral singing, and speeches. They feared the students would get out of hand if they ran the festival themselves, and might repeat an uncomfortable experience of the previous year when the students had staged a "demo" (demonstration) in costume satirizing the Ministry of Education and the Government, as well as the school authorities. A cultural club had also displayed an exhibit supporting the new (postwar) Constitution, which the dominant conservative political groups wanted to change.

In the third-year homeroom the discussion, chaired by a student leader with no teacher present, was passionate. One boy shouted at the start, "We should hear from everyone." There was widespread participation from both boys and girls, an unusual occurrence in a typical formal meeting. The argument focused on democratic rights for students. One girl said, "Sure let's have democracy, but that doesn't allow a few Marxists to impose their will on the whole student body!" The girls were obviously more conservative than the boys, but they agreed that the festival should be planned by all the students. The atmosphere was gay and uninhibited, with frequent outbursts of applause. The participants exhibited a cordial attitude toward the teachers who happened by. The windows and doors were jammed with observers from other classes. Although it was an aggressive display of student ideas, considered threatening by some teachers, it was a demonstration of genuine democratic participation. At the same time there was no organized militant student movement in that school, but such movements pose a real threat in some high schools today, for when high school activists get organized by themselves or at the instigation of university radicals, they can disrupt the whole school program; occupation of classrooms and offices and barricading of schools are frequent occurrences in such situations.

Once a week the average high school has an early morning school ceremony on the playground. At one school in Hiroshima in 1968 it consisted of raising the flag and playing the national anthem (both of which are unusual), then announcements by the student body president, and a 5-minute speech by the principal. His theme was "Your Obligation to the Community." In part, he said:

> Every year this Prefecture pays 80,000 yen ($222.22) per capita for your schooling. You pay in tuition only 9,600 yen ($26.67). Therefore, the citizens are paying for your education, for which you owe them a social responsibility.

He then proceeded to define this responsibility in terms of proper public behavior.

In line with the duty orientation of traditional Japanese culture, a Chiba Prefecture part-time high school gave the following prescription for summer behavior at the last meeting of the student body before vacation:

1. The students were exhorted not to get into trouble, but if they did they were to consult their homeroom teacher immediately.
2. They were to wear their school uniforms and insignia at all times (to permit their easy identification as students of "X" school).
3. They were not to leave town without giving their itinerary to their homeroom teacher and getting his approval.
4. They were not to frequent *pachinko* parlors, bars, or cabarets.
5. They were not allowed to smoke or drink.
6. They were urged to set up a systematic study schedule for themselves, especially if they had made poor grades during the past semester.
7. They were to return to the school five times during the summer, for swimming training.
8. They were to keep a diary during the whole vacation and submit it to the homeroom teacher when school opened in the fall.[21]

From the homeroom teacher's point of view, enforcing such a strict regime is a full-time job and an unwelcome one. But the Japanese teacher is paid on a 12-month basis, and his services can be demanded by the principal at any time during the vacation. Implementing the above prohibitions was considered part of the teacher's counseling responsibilities.

ADMISSION STANDARDS

As previously indicated, admission to a public senior high school is not assured to all, because there are not enough available facilities. All students seeking admission must take a subject-matter achievement test. This serves as the main selection instrument, though it is generally supplemented by reports from junior high school principals. The test is designed by the prefectural board of education to screen out the less qualified students, and is given in all public high schools in the Prefecture on the same day.

In anticipation of this examination, all third-year junior high students who wish to continue their schooling must file an application with the senior high school of their choice—one that most nearly matches their ability. Their choice of school is generally based on the advice received from their ninth-grade homeroom teachers, who thus bear a heavy responsibility for their students' success. During the last year, therefore, the teachers give frequent mock tests including, in some cases, special machine-scored "promotion tests" prepared by test industries. The computerized results are supposed to give almost infallible answers as to the probability of a student's success in a particular examination. However, the teacher must finally make the crucial decision as to which school a student should try to enter. The result is rarely satisfactory to the student or his parents. The *Mainichi News* reports that two-thirds of the boys and girls in vocational high schools are dissatisfied after they enter, and their parents are bitter. Even a third of those in regular high schools are unhappy at their choice, feeling that they could have passed the more rigorous test of a more prestigious school.[22]

The successful candidates are not announced until after graduation day from junior high. Of those who fail the test, most enroll in a part-time public school, which generally accepts all applicants, others enter expensive private schools, and a few persistent students, who insist on entering their preferred school, study with a private tutor or enter a special cram school to prepare for the examination the following spring, when they are allowed another bid for admission to the school of their choice.

THE CURRICULUM

A student must take a minimum of 85 "credits" or credit hours for graduation from senior high school. (A credit hour is 35 class sessions of 50 minutes each; i.e., one class session per week for a whole school year.) The individual school plans its curriculum on the basis of standards published by the Ministry of Education, which were revised most recently in 1970 and went into effect in 1973. The *required* subjects for all students, general or specialized, are: (1) Japanese language, two courses; (2) social studies, four courses (including ethics-civics and political science-economics); (3) mathematics, one course; (4) science, two courses; (5) health and physical education, two separate courses; (6) fine arts, one course; and (7) homemaking (for girls only—see table 8). "A" courses are of average difficulty; "B" courses are advanced and more intensive. A vocational major must take 40 to 48 hours of vocational subjects in addition to 51 to 61 hours of general courses, and, like the general course majors, 1 hour a week of homeroom. In addition, by Ministry prescription time must be allotted for club activities and events after school. The total number of credit hours in a typical student's program (including both required and elective courses) ranges from 100 to 107 in the 3-year course, or roughly 35 credit hours per year.

Science

Fifteen hours of physics, chemistry, biology, and earth science are required of the senior high school student in the academic stream. Two

Table 8.—Required subjects for all students during the 3 years of senior high school: 1973–74 [1]

Areas	Required subjects [2]	Standard number of credits [3]
Total [4]		42–44(B), 46–48(G)
Japanese language	Modern language	7
	Classics I–A	2
Social studies	Ethics-civics	2
	Political science–economics	2
	Two of the following: Japanese history World history Geography A or B	6
Mathematics	General mathematics or mathematics I	6
Science	Basic science, or two of the following: Physics I Chemistry I Biology I Earth science I	6
Health and physical education	Health	2
	Physical education	7–9
Fine arts	One of the following: Music I Fine arts I Handicrafts I Calligraphy I	2
Homemaking (girls)	General homemaking	4

[1] Effective April 1973.

[2] "A" means a general study of the subject; "B" means an advanced study of it. "I" and "II" indicate a sequence of courses; "I" is prerequisite to "II."

[3] A "credit" represents 35 "class hours," each of which is 50 minutes.

[4] The minimum number of credits necessary for senior high school graduation is 85.

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo: the Agency, 1972), p. 21.

or more of these are compulsory for vocational students (generally physics or chemistry for both industrial and agricultural high school students, with the addition of biology for agricultural majors). Although individual student differences in aptitude for science and mathematics are great, the teaching is often geared to the upper ability groups, leaving the rest behind, frustrated and bored. Since the Ministry repeatedly instructs the universities to build their examinations on the official "Course of Studies" and since textbook writers have similar instructions, the examinations and the texts theoretically cover the same material. Every teacher feels that he must, therefore, complete the entire science text during a year. Every effort is made to cover all the information in the text, even though it is thought by some experts to be far too much material for the average student to absorb. Consequently, much of it is dealt with very superficially.

The entrance examinations to the university are written tests constructed by college professors. Some are older senior professors, who may not be acquainted with all the latest scientific techniques and developments, and thus the exam stresses traditional materials. Some high school teachers, therefore, argue that time spent on laboratory experiments is time lost, and would be better utilized solving problems from past examinations which are conveniently published in booklets for cramming purposes. But Japan is fortunate in having in its schools a body of well-trained science teachers who are enthusiastic about their subjects and full of intellectual curiosity about the latest methods from abroad. In league with the more innovative professors at the universities, they have organized themselves into professional educational societies and brought to the country American curriculum specialists in each of the new scientific approaches. Their workshops and seminars result in publications that further disseminate information. The Science Education Centers (discussed in the previous chapter) have given retraining in the new math and science to thousands of eager teachers. The Physics Education Society of Japan has imported the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) materials, held seminars with visiting American specialists, prepared texts, and even arranged to have PSSC laboratory apparatus adapted to Japanese needs manufactured in Japan on license from PSSC headquarters. In other cases Japanese science teachers and scientists have developed new types of physics apparatus, of which half the costs are supplied by the Ministry.

To improve chemistry teaching, the Chemical Society of Japan set up a committee on chemical education with a study group chaired by Dr. Shoichiro Nagai, professor emeritus of Tokyo University. Its major thrust was upgrading high school teaching through seminars on chemical education material. The importance of chemistry in Japan's industrial drive has thus stimulated the profession to exert much effort to further teacher education for the critical secondary school level.

Biologists, too, have been in the forefront of modernization with a movement similar to and stimulated by the Biological Science Curriculum Study

(BSCS) in the United States. All biology texts are now influenced by the BSCS philosophy, and there have been workshops, newsletters, and published papers promoting the BSCS approach, modified to fit Japanese needs. High school biology is a 4-hour course, theoretically including 2 hours of laboratory work. Sometimes, however, the lab period is used for lectures. Excellent films and slides are available and are used by some teachers—but not many. The educational television courses in biology from Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), the public broadcasting corporation, are of high caliber and a few teachers plan their courses around them. Generally, however, teaching revolves around the textbook. In the 13 authorized texts for high school biology, the average number of experiments called for is 35. Among them, many are concerned with the structure of organisms and physiology, while very few treat heredity and variation, or evolution and classification, prompting Prof. Kazuhiko Nakayama of International Christian University (ICU) to comment that an unfortunate imbalance exists.[23]

Geology, or earth science, is relatively new to Japan, having been introduced as an independent course for the first time during the occupation. It is a two-credit course studying the earth as a celestial body and the earth's atmosphere, surface, and crust. Special attention is also given to the natural calamities (e.g., earthquakes) to which Japan is especially vulnerable. Specialists in this field have organized the Japan Society of Earth Science Education and have established affiliations of the Society in most Prefectures. The Earth Science Curriculum Project materials are a major focus, and texts and experimental studies have been published on them.

An important positive factor in science education is the generous Government support provided. The Science Education Promotion Law was passed in 1953 to improve science education in the elementary and secondary schools. Substantial Government assistance for the purchase of facilities and equipment began the next year. Standards of science equipment have been raised several times since then. The standard science equipment for a senior high school costs $18,000, and while not all schools have this much equipment, Government subsidies will soon make this possible. In addition, the Government has subsidized the Science Education Centers, has aided in research on science education by the professional associations mentioned previously, and has granted many scholarships to science students in senior high schools and the universities.

An important advisory committee to the Ministry of Education, the Council on Science and Industrial Education, supports science education in many ways. In an effort to get teachers and students to see beyond the facts and help them grasp the "spirit of science and education," the council recently issued a statement noting that—

> . . . the laws of science and mathematics are not absolute . . . but are always being modified through further experiences. It is important to give the student

> [a] flexible understanding of science, and opportunity for participation in making science.[24]
>
> Learning the process of recognizing our external world should be particularly emphasized in education, rather than limiting our scope to transmitting and accepting pre-established knowledge . . . .[25]

Mathematics

The "Course of Studies" effective in the senior highs in 1973 requires that all students in the regular (nonspecialized) course take 1 year, or 6 credit hours, of mathematics. The student has the option of taking either mathematics I or general mathematics, a simpler course designed to give him a basic knowledge of such concepts as numbers, expressions, functions, and probability and statistics.

Mathematics I is a 6-hour course for freshmen, consisting of algebra and geometry, probability, and fundamental analytic geometry. After taking this course the college preparatory student continues in the second year (11th grade) with mathematics II-B, 5 hours a week, and in the third year (12th grade) with mathematics III, 3 hours a week, for a total of 14 credit hours. In contrast, vocational students take the usual 6 hours of mathematics I in the first year (10th grade) followed by a 3-hour course in applied mathematics (a practical course as for engineering) during the senior year (12th grade), for a total of only 9 credit hours.

In order to differentiate the mathematics courses available in senior high school, those identified as "A" are for the regular, nonspecialist student, while those entitled "B" are for the specialist or advanced student. "I" and "II" indicate the sequence of the courses with "I" prerequisite to "II." The following are rough descriptions of those offered in a senior high in Japan:

> Mathematics IIA, designed for the non-college bound students who expect to go immediately into employment, is a continuation of mathematics I (general mathematics). It continues algebra and geometry, including integrals and differentials, together with computer calculations, such as flow charts and the function of computers.
>
> Mathematics IIB, for the college bound, continues advanced algebra and geometry and includes vector mathematics, matrixes and determinants, and differentials and integrals.

Mathematics III covers analytic geometry, differentials and their applications, integrals and their applications, plus probability and statistics (e.g., sampling and gauss distributions).

Applied mathematics, for the vocational major, consists of vector and matrix analysis, differentials and integrals, probability distribution (for sampling), sine, co-sine, and arc-sine, the application of probability and statistics, and computer mathematics.

More than 100 senior high schools have offered, since 1973, a special intensive science and mathematics track in the regular course for students intending to major in math and science at the university. In this track the student is expected to take, after mathematics I, a new course in advanced mathematics, combining mathematics II and mathematics III for more than 12 hours, making a total of more than 18 hours of mathematics during his high school career. He may also elect to take a new 2-hour course in computer mathematics. To complete all this in a 3-year program, the student in the new science and math track must devote to mathematics and science the few hours that are available for electives.

The objectives of senior high school mathematics are generally the same as in junior high; i.e., to develop more advanced mathematical thinking, better problem-solving ability, increased symbolic thinking, understanding of axiomatic structure, and the ability to use mathematics in science, technology, and other studies. In reaching these goals the students are given a thorough understanding of the basic concepts, laws, and structures of mathematics. Of these concepts, that of function is stressed.

Social Studies

A typical social studies program includes the following courses in the 3-year senior high curriculum: Ethics-civics (i.e., morals), political science-economics, and two courses from among the following: Japanese history, world history, and geography "A" and "B."

The senior high school counterpart to the morals course at the lower school levels is the 2-hour ethics-civics course in the second year, which was initiated in 1964. Rather than being a didactic course in personal or group morals, this is an introduction to philosophy or the history of thought, with an admixture of sociology. It begins with the origins of European thought in Greece and Rome and progresses through the Renaissance and humanism to modern thought, socialism, pragmatism, and existentialism. It also examines the great religions of the world, illustrating the roles Buddhism, Shintoism, and Confucianism have played in the history of Japan. It is not a comparative study of religions; it aims simply to acquaint the students with some of the great religious figures, such as the Buddha and Jesus, as well as with the great philosophers, including Socrates, Plato, Descartes, Locke, Kant, Hegel, and such modern personages as Sartre, Heidegger, Marx, Dewey, and James.

The description of the course states hopefully that it will give the student a basis for determining his own philosophy of life. But a brief course of 2 hours a week dealing with thought and religion on a worldwide basis can only be a general survey. A critic points out that the course neglects to give the historical setting within which each philosopher operated, and to indicate how his philosophy met the problems of his time. In actuality, it may become little more than an exercise in memorizing philosophers' names.[36]

There is much dissatisfaction with the ethics-civics course. The students consider it a waste of time, since, like the morals course in the lower schools, it does not have examinations and grades, and—more important—no questions on it occur in the university entrance examinations. The leftists opposed the ethics-civics course as a step back to prewar Government indoctrination; the rightists disapproved this course because it was not effectively combating delinquency.

Some efforts are being made to improve the ethics-civics course. In rural Toyama Prefecture, teachers responsible for the course were frustrated trying to teach it, and the public was unhappy with the result. In an election for governor, the winning candidate supported the idea of a "Spirituality Development Center" to solve the problem. This center was established in the prefectural board of education offices to research the problem of developing moral values for high schools, because the most serious situation, it was felt, was at this level. The center was also an inservice training organ for morals teachers and principals. The approach was religious; the center's staff of six were mostly Buddhist priests, all of whom were former teachers. Their answer to the problem was mainly to promote Buddhism, which, with Shintoism and Confucianism, embodies the traditional values of Japan. Propagation of modern values, however, particularly humanism, was also to be included in the center's program.

Dissatisfaction with the schools' handling of morals instruction was also prevalent in National Government circles, and led to the revised "Course of Studies" for the 1970's in which ethics-civics is to be improved and related more directly to morals education. Also, moral guidance is to be given in each subject as well as in extracurricular educational activities. The stated aim is now one of—

> . . . cultivating pupil morality so they will be able to effectively apply the spirit of human respect in everyday life at home, in school and in other segments of society, endeavoring to create a culture characterized by individuality and a democratic society and nation, and bringing up Japanese people who will willingly contribute to a peaceful international society. [Thus the goal is] fostering of a spirit of self-discipline, a sense of social solidarity, and a serious attitude toward responsibility for the realization of a better society free of all forms of discrimination.[37]

In addition to the ethics, sociology, and philosophy included in ethics-civics, social studies at the senior high school level in the 1970's included discrete, conventional courses in history and geography, rather than the problem-centered, fused courses of the occupation period. The only exception was the third-year course in political science-economics, which had been integrated to some extent, but did not necessarily address itself to human problems.

Because of the fear that discussions of contemporary problems, such as politics and ecology, could get out of hand, such topics have been carefully skirted in the social studies classes. To counter teacher and student radicalism, the Ministry of Education handed down a directive in late 1969 that required political issues to be treated impartially and directed teachers to refrain from presenting individual ideologies or drawing personal conclusions. The effort of this ruling has been to inhibit the discussion of controversial issues in the social studies classroom.

English

In senior high school, English is offered 3 to 6 hours a week for 3 years. In certain academic high schools and private schools the number of hours offered per week may be more, largely because of the presence of American or English missionary teachers. The availability of this resource enables such schools to specialize in English teaching. There are two levels. English "A" for the job-bound student is more general, consisting of 3 credits each year for 3 years or a total of 9 credit hours; English "B" is more intensive, designed for the college-bound, and demands a minimum of 5 credits each year for a total of 15 credit hours. English "A" requires a 1,500-word vocabulary; English "B," 3,600 words.

Current teaching methods.—An increasing number of schools have language laboratories, relatively inexpensive but of good quality. A high school in Sapporo visited by the author in 1968 had 53 booths, and all its English teachers knew how to operate the console. Generally, however, only the first-year (10th-grade) students receive oral speech training; the second- and third-year students never use the lab. They are back in their rooms working on translations in preparation for the much-dreaded university entrance examination. The exam usually requires a student to translate a complicated passage from an English stylist; e.g., Francis Bacon or Somerset Maugham, and to demonstrate knowledge of the technical aspects of English grammar. Students must therefore forego the luxury of conversational English and instead specialize in reading-translation. The English course, especially in the third year, is thus heavily literary and grammatical in content, with a vocabulary of several thousand words to be memorized. Like science or mathematics, it is taught as a content subject rather than a skills subject.

Despite these problems, Takeshi Miyauchi, an American-trained teacher, formerly at Kobe High School and director of the school's language lab, was optimistic. "In spite of the entrance examination hell," he told the author, "the argument for the practical utility of speaking English is so strong that soon the entrance examinations will require audio comprehension as well, and then we can really specialize in the aural-oral approach." Since 1966 at least eight Prefectures have been giving oral tests in English for entrance to senior high school. To date, the sheer technical difficulty of testing the oral ability of thousands of applicants has precluded this type of exam for university applicants, but the time has come when university and Ministry authorities will have to face up to and devise a solution for this problem.

New trends in teaching English.—After Japanese schools have taught English for more than a century with considerably less than optimal results, a number of recent developments give reason for hope. Among its approximately 28,500 high school English teachers, Japan now has several thousand who are linguistically trained. The Fulbright program has brought more than 500 Japanese teachers to leading U.S. universities specializing in "teaching English as a second language" and has brought a succession of U.S. linguists and teachers to Japan as lecturers in the universities and as advisors to workshops. In addition, the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii from 1962 to 1969 awarded special scholarships for experienced "master teachers" at the senior high school level in the Teacher Interchange Program. Most of the program participants studied new methods of teaching English; and many Japanese teachers went through the university's program leading to the M.A. in Teaching English as a Second Language.

An organization that has been working toward better English teaching methods for some years is the English Language Exploratory Committee (ELEC). Organized in 1956 by Japanese and American leaders in the field of English teaching, ELEC has since brought noted linguists to Japan with the support of the Ford Foundation, the John D. Rockefeller III Fund, and private Japanese businessmen. With the help of foreign scholars, ELEC has compiled and published a series of books and articles on methods of teaching English. All publications and activities of ELEC offer the latest techniques in linguistic science.

Since 1957 ELEC has also been sponsoring 2-week summer seminars, regionally distributed around Japan, for experienced junior and senior high school teachers who often come from distant places at their own expense. By 1969 over 6,000 English teachers had attended these seminars and completed the training. As an inservice course the seminars are useful for improving the teachers' oral command of English. But ELEC's oral-aural approach, which it uniformly prescribes, has been difficult for the average teacher to apply entirely, especially when the method already long in force is the translation method. One young teacher, for example, returning enthusiastic from a seminar, was confronted with opposition from older colleagues, and was blocked. She found that the ELEC system required a smaller class than most, and more preparation by the teacher; but, most important, it demanded administrative and faculty cooperation and support, which were rarely forthcoming. Efforts to find some compromise between the old system and the new ELEC methods have thus far failed.

Other efforts to reform the old system have been made by the professional association of teachers of English—the National Federation of

Prefectural English Teachers' Organizations. Large (more than 50,000 members) and influential, it conducts seminars and conferences throughout the school year to discuss problems of the profession and holds an annual meeting attended by more than 2,000 participants. (The deliberations are almost always entirely in Japanese.) Since the association's members are blocked by the university entrance examination requirements, their efforts to improve the teaching of English have been, on balance, largely fruitless.

Another recent innovative effort to improve English learning, also outside the schools, has been made by the new non-Government Council on Language Teaching Development, an organization of prominent business leaders, academicians, and linguistic specialists dedicated to promoting a national campaign and a master plan to reform English teaching in Japan. Stimulated and assisted by an American group established at the suggestion of Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, the council began an Intensive Training Course in 1968 for groups of highly selected university students that is offered in summer camps throughout Japan. The leadership of the program was given to distinguished university professors, who generally selected their best students as participants. American college students were brought into the living situation to help with the language. The participants, who were aided by generous scholarships, formed an elite group who, it was hoped, would constitute the pool of proficient language speakers needed for international communication in Government and business relations in the future. The students considered themselves pioneers in a new kind of English training; one group of biochemistry students, for example, concentrated on the specialized English usage in their field. Since the council's training course does not include out-of-school Japanese who wish to learn English, and has neither a permanent institutional base nor a teacher-training program, it cannot be expected to promote the mass educational use of English. However, the Intensive Training Course is successful within its limits and may constitute a model for intensive training in English when schools become ready to commit themselves to this goal.

Another recent stimulus to national improvement in the English language is a private organization called Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP), Inc., which emphasizes oral English usage. Started in 1963 and authorized by the Ministry of Education, it offers nationwide competitive testing of proficiency in practical English for all comers—students, teachers, salesmen, tour guides, and the general public. STEP has become immensely popular and influential, reflecting the mounting "English boom." Certain schools and business firms have seized upon it as a further means of rating their staff members. Appointments and promotions often depend upon attaining at least the second highest (of four) competence categories. To pass the test at the highest level, which requires genuine functional control of all aspects of English, is very difficult and therefore is an esteemed achievement. STEP tests are divided into two phases—a written test that involves reading, writing, and hearing skills, and a personal interview that involves a 1-minute extemporaneous speech. At least one member of the examining board must be a native speaker of English.

STEP tests are given three times a year at more than 2,000 stations throughout the country. A person who fails may take the test again, and many do. Even experienced English teachers, already employed, feel pressure to take the test and make a high score. The major advantage of STEP is its focus on oral English, which counters the emphasis on written English in the academic entrance-examination syndrome and reinforces more modern methods of English-language learning.

Thus various programs, Japanese-initiated but with token American support, are slowly beginning to change the strategy of teaching English, and their effects are beginning to be felt at the high school level. The recognition in high places in business and Government circles of the crucial necessity for Japanese to communicate with the rest of the world through the international language of English may eventually bring about a revolution in language learning. Official sanction by the Ministry of Education is needed for schools to implement the latest methods of language learning. This sanction the Ministry promised for almost a century, but has really never given and implemented. New texts, based on these latest methods, must be written. Most importantly, the roughly 65,000 junior and senior high English teachers must be retrained to give them the skills, techniques, and attitudes necessary to teach the language effectively, both orally and aurally. And, finally, the stranglehold of the university entrance examination must be broken. Only then will the teaching of functional English be possible.

Guidance

Guidance at the senior high school level is considered an important factor in helping solve the manifold student problems of modern Japan. According to Hisashi Mori, it is based on the concept of democracy and is designed to be a means of bringing about internationalization of democratic values.[28] It has not been very successful, however, partly because it is still, as in prewar days, used as a control device against student delinquency. The approach remains largely traditional. Based on the official list of moral principles taught in the morals course, guidance is directive, consisting of value judgments and advice-giving by the teacher. It is also nonprofessional for the most part, since major responsibility for guidance, even at the senior high school level, has been placed upon the regular homeroom teacher. In view of Japan's strong group orientation, the most common method of counseling is group guidance, with the teacher as the authority figure. Discussion is encouraged but difficult to stimulate in a class of 40 or more. Some of the topics covered are occupational information, employment trends and opportunities, occupational aptitude tests and test interpretation for self-evaluation, reference writing, and choice of universities for further schooling. Guidance thus is almost exclusively vocational and educational.

If the individual student exhibits any neurotic symptoms or if his problem is too complicated for the homeroom teacher to handle, he may be sent to a counselor—if there is one. A few schools now have regular teachers assigned as part-time or full-time counselors. Since there is no standard for certification, their level of training and competence varies greatly. A few enlightened and well-supported school systems (e.g., the one in Yokohama) have full-time professional counselors. In one Tokyo high school there are three part-time counselors, all men, for 1,000 students. They teach 18 hours a week, almost a full load, and provide counseling in addition to their teaching duties. One, an experienced English teacher, aged 57, has studied counseling in the United States and uses the nondirective approach of Carl Rogers. He frequently consults with parents, mostly mothers. He reported the most common student problems to be (1) what university to select (i.e., which is the best university I have a chance to get into, given my abilities); (2) "school phobia"—boredom with the program or the teacher; and (3) conflicts with parents over career choice—in which cases the counselor says he sides with the pupils, on principle.[29]

The counseling staff in a commercial high school in Nagoya with a coeducational student body of 1,350 consisted, in the late sixties, of 2 part-time male counselors and the homeroom teachers, under the leadership of the principal. One counselor noted his major functions to be combating delinquency and testing students and advising them vocationally on the basis of their scores. When asked by the author if any of the girls, who comprised 80 percent of the student body, had any special problems that would require a woman counselor, the reply was "No, the family takes care of all such problems as sex delinquency, privately at home. Only one or two parents each year bring to the school problems they can't handle."

Personal counseling is thus limited in scope and not very effective, primarily because there are so few counselors, most of whom are almost full-time teachers with neither the time nor energy to get involved in students' affairs. And the students, because of traditional reticence, rarely seek out teachers or the counselor for assistance.

Teacher-consultants specializing in guidance are available at the district level, and schools can call on them to help organize or evaluate their guidance program or plan inservice training of homeroom teachers. The Ministry has also provided leadership and support for inservice training of principals and teacher-consultants for junior and senior high schools since 1963, as well as sponsoring workshops, publishing teachers' manuals, and conducting research. In addition, it designates as models those local schools that have good guidance programs.

The philosophy and principles of modern guidance are widely known and accepted but rarely put into practice. The main obstacles to implementation are lack of funds, the traditional authoritarian culture, and the demands of the university entrance examination. Because of the exam, free educational choice, based on the student's interest and needs, is almost eliminated. Status and family pressure, as well as economic opportunity, heavily influence decisions. Perhaps the most important factor in the final choice is the availability of a particular department in a particular college within the reach of the student's ability. The counselor's current role is simply to provide information, test the student's abilities, and exhort him to work harder.

PLANS FOR THE SEVENTIES

Planning for expanding, improving, and nationalizing senior high education began in 1966 and is to be implemented in the seventies. The Central Council for Education (CCE) recommended to the Minister in 1966 that (1) high school education be *diversified* to meet the aptitudes, abilities, and prospects of individual students, as well as the state's manpower needs in new categories of occupations; (2) a new type of high school be set up to give youth general culture and vocational skills in a shorter time than the 3-year regular senior high school; and (3) part-time and correspondence courses at the senior high school level be made more available to young workers.

As usual, it is necessary to look behind these recommendations to understand their full implications. It is said that the plan is the result of pressure from two organizations, the Japan Association of Management and the Japan Association of Senior High School Principals, both of which had published studies in the previous year—1965.[30] The Association of Management, seeking more and better trained skilled labor, had long advocated both emphasizing vocational education in junior and senior high schools and also establishing various new vocational training schools outside the regular high schools.

The present academic course in senior high school that most youth elect (and which an estimated 30 percent cannot really handle) is patently unsuited for training workers. The CCE plan is to make the curriculum more flexible as well as diversified in the regular schools, with wider choice of electives and fewer compulsory courses, and to divide the required "solids"—Japanese, social studies, mathematics, science, and English—into two separate streams, to provide an easier version of each for the vocational group. It is suggested that at least some of these courses (especially English) might even become optional. Besides this loosening up of requirements in the regular senior high school, establishment of special high schools for working youth is proposed to provide them with a short course, primarily vocational, that would facilitate rapid entry into industry. The vocational courses would be improved and expanded into new fields to keep pace with the progress of science and technology. Emphasis in these courses would be on the experimental and practical, to give the students sufficient skills to enable them to fit immediately into an industrial operation. Under the CCE's plan, a more effective guidance program would be implemented to help students make wiser vocational choices, and to try to persuade them to go into the technical stream or special vocational school rather than the academic stream.

This plan for curriculum revision met with a storm of protest, especially from the JTU. The union considered that this plan was simply going back to the two-track system of prewar days and was really a scheme "to trample the postwar concept of democratic education underfoot."[31] They charged that it denied full and equal educational opportunity to all, including the poor and working youth, as guaranteed in the Fundamental Law of Education. They condemned the proposed short-term school for working youth as a "low-level, incomplete school" that would aggravate the present job discrimination against those who graduate from night high school and correspondence schools.

The JTU had a counter proposal: to build more regular high schools, enough to accommodate all students of senior high school age; to limit class size to 40 and eliminate the differential standards of various high schools; and to provide by law for working youth to attend ordinary senior highs at night while receiving regular pay for their daytime work.[32]

Along with this curriculum proposal, the CCE prepared a document called "The Image of the Ideal Japanese," completed in 1966. Designed to set forth the guiding principles for the Nation's senior high school education, as well as for curricular changes at the other levels, it fanned an even greater flame of protest. Prof. Saburo Sato of Osaka City University charged that it was a government attempt to supplement, even to replace, the Fundamental Law of Education.[33] Intellectuals, liberals, teachers, and students opposed it as a return to the nationalistic morals of the prewar Imperial Rescript on Education. They said that it was an anachronism in the modern world, the product of the Meiji mentality of the CCE's members, whose average age was 68. They argued that it was not the legitimate function of a democratic government to establish an "ideal image" for all its citizens, but that the strength of a democracy was in the diversity of its people and their opinions. Nevertheless, the lack of a consensus regarding national goals, the increase in juvenile delinquency, the political polarization of the Nation, and the alleged loss of national identity caused many of the older generation to long for just such an official model.

"The Image" (see appendix F on p. 371 for a condensed version) defines the four main problems facing Japanese today as (1) the dehumanizing effect of technology, (2) the neglect of national consciousness, (3) the immature implementation of democracy, and (4) the reestablishment of the Emperor's role.

To resolve these problems, every Japanese, according to "The Image," should strive toward becoming the ideal man. As an individual he must be free and have a sense of responsibility and of his own dignity; as a family member, he must make his home a place of rest and of education for his children; as a member of the community, he must behave properly and serve others; and as a member of the state, he must have loving respect for the Emperor and be proud of being a Japanese.

Although it accepts the concept of Japan as a democratic nation, the document indicates that democracy is not yet firmly implanted in the spiritual soil of Japan. It urges a controlled sort of democracy, one that will promote "nationalism on the basis of Japanese race and culture." It seeks, as do many nations after the disaster of defeat, to recapture from its past a golden age that will restore national pride and national identity. This is to be attained on the basis of traditional ethical norms, rather than by individual liberty and initiative. It fails to take into account, however, that Japan has joined the modern world and that its young people are now too sophisticated to accept indoctrination in a fixed value system.

One young leftist writer, Kenzaburo Ohe, who speaks for the contemporary student generation, said, with reference to "The Image":

> The only thing that looms out of the mist of ambiguity is the naked intention to infringe upon the democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution . . . .
>
> I fear that the high school students . . . will certainly be bewildered by the . . . gap between their own images of the ideal Japanese and that which the Government and older generation expect them to have.[34]

Thus Japan, like contemporary America and Europe, suffers from a generation gap in its search for meaning and identity.

SUMMARY

A heavy majority of Japan's present-day students complete senior high (upper secondary) school. Few drop out. So universal is senior high education that there is strong pressure from the public to make it part of the compulsory system.

The occupation reforms changed the multitrack secondary schools of prewar days to a single-track system, with a comprehensive senior high school as the standard model. This did not satisfy the business community and other elements in Japan, who persuaded the Ministry to modify the single track to provide for separate vocational senior high schools and technical colleges (*kosen*) beginning at the upper secondary (senior high) level. Thus, high school programs are now classified as general (academic) or vocational and technical. Besides this, they are differentiated by quality. Among the senior high schools of each Prefecture there is a hierarchy of institutions, ranging from the famed oldest academic institutions at the top, serving the ablest youth, down to the lesser institutions, which are often remote, poorly equipped, and poorly staffed, serving the least able students. This arrangement contributes, said the OECD survey team in 1970, to a rigid class structure and widens social distance between the mental and manual workers. Instead, they said, "We feel that schools should cater to different *levels* of ability. . . . Each type of school should accommodate children of different abilities and should have teachers of similar qualifications and the same standards of physical plant." [35]

A graduate of the vocational track suffers from the fact that his schooling is a blind alley, in terms of qualifying him for further advanced study. He cannot go on to the university, no matter how promising he may be as a teacher or researcher in a technical field. Japan is thus wasting part of her technical and scientific talent. The survey report strongly recommended that provision be made to permit technical high school and technical college graduates to enter the academic universities under the same conditions as an academic high school graduate.[36]

Like their contemporaries around the world, Japanese high school youth are currently suffering from alienation, disillusionment, and boredom. At such a time, instead of opening up the curriculum, the educational authorities are making it more structured, with tougher content and more indoctrination in the officially prescribed morals. Frustrated youth have few sources of advice to assist them in coping with the resulting dilemma. Most keep their anxieties to themselves; few turn to their parents or teachers. In this situation counseling by trained guidance specialists is strongly indicated, but very few high schools have professional counselors. Counseling is still largely a control mechanism to keep dissident students from blowing off the lid of order and conformity.

The major concern of the authorities is students' unpatriotic attitude towards authority and country, which still shows up in the annual polls of youth opinion. This concern is irrelevant to most students. Attempts to mold them into the "image of the ideal Japanese" have generally met with failure. The OECD survey team called instead for "development of students' personalities through a more flexible and less pressured scheme of education, with more free time, more curricular freedom, more diversity in extra-curricular activities, and more cooperation among pupils." They saw the present school as perhaps overemphasizing discipline, competition, and imitation, and not giving sufficient attention to cooperation and creativity.[37] Many high school students would agree with this description, and its indication of the direction in which their schools should move.

NOTES

[1] Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Agency, 1972), p. 50.

[2] *Asahi Evening News*, Apr. 2, 1968.

[3] John Singleton, *Nichu, A Japanese School* (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 19.

[4] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan,* (Paris, OECD, 1971), p. 63.

[5] *Japan Times,* May 22, 1961.

[6] OECD, op. cit. p. 64.

[7] *Asahi Evening News,* Feb. 14, 1969.

[8] *Times* (London) *Educational Supplement,* June 26, 1964.

[9] *Sorifu Seishonen Kyoku* (Prime Minister's Youth Department), *Kokosei no Seikatsu Jittai Chosa (A Study of High School Students' Life),* (Tokyo, the Department, November 1967), pp. 147–48.

[10] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Revised Course of Study for Upper Secondary Schools in Japan* (Tokyo, the Commission, 1971), p. 485.

[11] *Japan Times,* Mar. 18, 1968.

[12] Prime Minister's Youth Department, op. cit., pp. 126–48.

[13] Ibid., p. 128.

[14] Ibid., p. 129-30.

[15] *Japan Times,* July 28, 1968.

[16] Prime Minister's Youth Department, op. cit., p. 131.

[17] *Japan Times,* July 28, 1968.

[18] Prime Minister's Youth Department, op. cit., p. 135–36.

[19] Ibid., p. 140.

[20] *Japan Times,* Apr. 7, 1959.

[21] Interview with teacher Hiroshi Kimura of Chiba Prefecture High School, Tokyo, July 26, 1968.

[22] *Mainichi,* Jan. 8, 1973.

[23] Kazuhiko Nakayama, *Japanese Biology Teaching at the Secondary Level* (Tokyo International Christian University, 1966), p. 15, Mimeographed.

[24] Council for Science and Industrial Education. "The Spirit of Science Education: A Challenge to a New Course," in Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Science Education in Japan—Views and Ideas* (Tokyo, the Commission, 1968), p. 110.

[25] Ibid., p. 108.

[26] Tsunenobu Terazawa, *Koko Rinri-Shakai no Kyokasho Hihan (A Criticism of High School Textbooks in Ethics-Civics),* (Tokyo, Meiji Tosho, 1965), p. 161.

[27] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Revised Course of Study for Upper Secondary Schools in Japan* (Tokyo, the Commission, 1971), p. 22.

[28] Hisashi Hori, "Improvement in Learning through Guidance" (in Japanese), *Mombu Jiho* (July 1967), pp. 11–12, as quoted in Haruyo M. Tamura, "Secondary School Guidance in Japan" (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, December 1968), p. 3. Unpublished term paper.

[29] Carol Neumeier, "High School Counselor in Japan," *Personnel and Guidance Journal,* vol. 46 (February 1968), pp. 602 and 605.

[30] Saburo Sato, "Image of an Ideal Japanese," *Educational Forum,* vol. 33 (November 1968), p. 97.

[31] *Japan Times,* Nov. 27, 1966.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Saburo Sato, op. cit., p. 98.

[34] *Mainichi, Monthly International Edition,* Feb. 1, 1965.

[35] OECD, op. cit., p. 63. Italics are in the original.

[36] Ibid., p. 64.

[37] Ibid., p. 67.

CHAPTER 5
HIGHER EDUCATION

UNIVERSITIES

The Nation's postwar baby boom, its affluence, and the widespread acceptance of university education as a prerequisite for success in any career sent rising numbers of students surging through the narrow gates of the universities. During the 1972-73 school year, more than 1½ million students were enrolled in the universities (table 1, p. 107). In May 1971, 18.7 percent of the relevant age group (18-21 years old) was enrolled in both junior colleges and universities. This percentage is the fourth highest in the world, with Japan behind the United States, Israel, and the U.S.S.R., but far ahead of France, Germany, and England, which have 10 percent or less of their relevant age groups enrolled in college.

The number of institutions has not increased sufficiently to meet the demand for places. From 1949 to 1972, only 5 new national universities were opened, making a total of 75; private institutions have had to take up the slack by increasing at a rapid rate, from 92 to 290. All told, in 1972 there were 398 regular 4-year universities—75 national, 290 private, and 33 "public" (prefectural and municipal) universities.

The pressure for more spaces at the university level has been so great that the Government has been forced to expand the number of faculties (schools or colleges in American terms) and departments in the national universities and to raise the quota of entrants for both national and private universities. The Ministry of Education predictions indicated that by 1975 one-third of the boys in the relevant age group and one-fourth of the girls would attend college; and that by 1985 enrollment would expand to 40 percent.

Hierarchy

The prewar hierarchy among universities has remained intact. Now, as then, the university structure is a pyramid with a narrow apex and very little movement between levels. As in the past, Tokyo and Kyoto Universities stand at the top of the national universities in terms of available funds, prestige, and the quality of education they are thought to offer. Ranged immediately below them are one or two specialized universities such as Hitotsubashi and Tokyo University of Technology, and following these are the other former "imperial universities," which retain their standing, based largely on seniority. (Appendix G on p. 376 presents statistics on the seven former imperial universities.) The 29 leading national universities all have early entrance examinations, while the remaining 46 national universities hold theirs later in order to provide a second chance for students who fail to gain admission to one of the leading institutions.

The prefectural and municipal universities, which collectively are called public universities in Japan, have their own hierarchy, as do the private universities, but both categories exist—with a few individual exceptions like Waseda, Keio, Doshisha, and International Christian University (ICU)—below the level of the national university hierarchy. The private universities, which accommodate at least 75 percent of the total university population, must constantly expand their enrollment to meet increasing demands, but are nearly always prevented by student pressure from raising tuition sufficiently to meet rising costs. The inevitable result is a lowering of the educational quality. The private universities must be credited, however, with meeting the national need for expanded facilities better than the more inflexible national universities.

The projected all-out reform of higher education recommended in 1971 by the Central Council for Education is intended to bridge the gap between the privileged national and public universities and the private universities and colleges, in terms of funds and educational capabilities. It is planned that the latter will receive substantial Government subsidies and many scholarships designed to enable their offerings more nearly to approach those of the national and public institutions. This improvement is already becoming evident as a result of the substantial loans and grants for current expenses, including salaries, that the Government initiated in 1973.

As for the smaller and newer national universities, there is a great imbalance in the appropriations granted them compared to the amounts allocated to Tokyo and Kyoto Universities. These two universities, although small by American standards (10,000-12,000 enrollment), have always received the lion's share of higher educational funds. In 1968 they were granted 30 percent of the entire budget for national universities, while the 73 other national universities shared the remaining 70 percent.

This imbalance is regrettable, since improvement of the research and library facilities of the less elite institutions through Government support would render them more attractive to scholars and students alike. Nor would a redress of the balance necessarily reduce the quality of the two leading institutions, which over the years have built magnificent libraries and famous research institutes; on the contrary, it would, in the words of the OECD survey team, be a move toward "creating more similarly outstanding institutions so as to obtain a wide plateau of excellence rather than the very narrow apex found at present. . . . It would put as many universities as possible in a position of first-rate participation in at least certain areas of specialization."[1]

Proposed Reforms

The reforms in higher education proposed by the Central Council for Education (CCE) in 1971 recommend a major change in organization, dividing the present institutions into five new categories, according to their specialized curriculums and functions.

Category I would include three types of *daigaku* or universities. The first is the "comprehensive" type, similar to the present university. It would prepare students for careers in such generalized fields as public administration and government service, industry, and (for women) family life. The second type is the "specialized" academic institution, which would prepare scientists and technologists and more advanced professionals. Instructors in this type would also be researchers. The third type would train personnel like "teachers, sailors, artists, and athletes," who require standardized courses of specialized training for the target occupation.[2] Teacher education would thus be removed from the "comprehensive" universities, and teacher trainees denied access to the broad choice of courses in many disciplines now available to them on the university campuses. The aim would be to shorten the bachelor's degree program in the first two types of universities to 3 years, through curriculum revision and such changes as making physical education and foreign languages optional.

Category II would include the 2- or 3-year junior colleges (*tanki daigaku*), which would be further divided into two types: (1) the general cultural type, which would require a major but would not be very specialized, providing students with the general cultural background necessary for being good citizens; and (2) the occupational type, which would provide subprofessional training similar to that in present junior college programs.

Category III would consist of the 5-year technical colleges (*kosen*), which would combine work at the senior high school and junior college levels. Established and highly successful, the technical colleges that prepare technicians for industry and the merchant marine would be models for similar schools that are preparing technicians in such fields as agriculture, commerce, and computer technology.

Category IV would consist of graduate schools (*daigakuin*), which would provide graduates or persons of equivalent ability with 2 or 3 years of advanced study leading to the master's degree (but not to the doctorate). The graduate schools would also be open to people who seek reeducation in a new field. Sometimes they would be combined with a regular university, and would provide continuity of training in those areas where a longer period of study is required.

Category V would consist of research institutes (*kenkyuin*), which would provide opportunities for advanced research and training comparable to that required for the present doctorate. Able students who did not hold a bachelor's degree would be welcome, and even graduates of the *kosen* would be able to attend. The *kenkyuin* would be independent of and separate from undergraduate education, despite warnings from the OECD survey team that such separation would be injurious to both the undergraduate and the graduate levels, denying the joint use of resources and the consequent enrichment that each would experience in a cooperative arrangement on the same campus.

A major obstacle in implementing the CCE recommendations for reorganizing higher education is that the 90,000 professors, lecturers, and instructors would have to be increased to 170,000 in the next 10 years, almost doubling the present staff; and this expansion would require a tremendous investment in new salaries.

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

Japanese universities are guaranteed academic freedom by the Constitution, and in some respects are the freest from government interference of any higher educational institutions in the world. Although all are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, each has considerable autonomy, with private universities having more than national or public ones. Within the university itself, however, the structure is still authoritarian and not far removed from the Germanic pattern of prewar days.

National Universities

The main agencies of governance of the national universities are the president, the board of councilors, the council, and faculty conferences.

The president.—A national university president is generally chosen for a 4-year term (with one reelection possible) by a vote of all members of all faculty conferences (and recently by vote of the student body as well, in some institutions). The actual formal authority of appointment still resides with the Minister of Education, but in most cases he accepts the decision of the individual university. Frequent efforts by the Ministry to win veto power over presidential appointments have been turned down by the academic community as violating university autonomy, and have thus far failed to pass as law in the Diet. The president is responsible for administering all university affairs, presides over a board of councilors, and must consult it on all important matters.

The board of councilors.—Officially, the board of councilors is the chief overall decisionmaking body in the university. It is comprised of the chief executive officials and deans, several full professors representing each faculty, and the directors of the large research institutes. The role of the board is to discuss university problems from a wide perspective, to harmonize the views of the various (and often competing) faculties, to enact regulations, to recommend creation or dissolution of faculties and departments, and to pass on the budget.

The council.—A separate unit, the council includes members of the board of councilors, the university librarian, and the head of the university hospital. Its function is to set standards for selecting the president, librarian, and directors of research institutes, and to nominate the president.

Faculty conferences.—University affairs are still dominated, as in prewar days, by the various faculties, each of which is administered by its own faculty conference. This body is composed of full professors, and, in some cases, assistant professors. (There is no associate professor rank, but the assistant professor rank is tenured and has relatively high status.) The faculty conference elects its own dean from among its members. It has the power to decide on curriculum, research projects, and appointments to its own staff. It is also concerned with admission and graduation of its students. The president and the Ministry of Education nearly always concur in its recommendations.

Public and Private Universities

Many public and private universities follow the example of the national universities in their patterns of governance. The main exception to this rule is that in public universities prefectural and municipal authorities make final appointments and major decisions; and in private universities boards of trustees or "juridical bodies" do so. Systematic regulations concerning university administration have never been established by law. Spheres of authority of individual officials (such as university presidents, in their relations to the deans beneath them and the Minister above) and the relations between the faculty conferences (which claim supreme authority) and the boards of councilors (which are supposed to wield it) have not been clearly defined. The result is often administrative confusion. When prompt action is necessary, as in a student riot, administration of the university often seems paralyzed.

The Chair System

The standard type of organization within faculties is still the "chair system" (*koza*), and funds are allocated on the basis of chairs. According to the University Standards Law, a chair is an administrative unit (covering both teaching and research functions) consisting of one full professor (who is in charge), at least two assistant professors, several instructors, and some assistants or technicians—all selected by the professor but approved by the faculty conference. The chair system is a survival from an earlier era of scientific development when a whole field, such as organic chemistry, was represented by a single professor.

The chair system is a prototype of the traditional Japanese pyramid of power known as the *oyabun-kobun* (parent-child) with the professor having absolute authority. Donald Keene, who attended Kyoto University, described the system as follows:

> A young teacher at the university level must become a "disciple" to a major professor, holder of a chair. He owes his appointments and promotions to the professor and he must spend a good deal of time keeping in the professor's good graces. He is well advised to request the professor to arrange his marriage and to regulate not only his university activities, but his private life to suit the professor.[3]

The professor himself is closer to his "children," who were once his students, than he is to his fellow full professors who, as holders of their own chairs within the same faculty, may compete with him for funds, space, and assistants. Because of such rivalry within faculties—as well as between faculties—the university cannot develop unity or harmony. The rigid inbreeding fostered by the chair system stifles new ideas in research and teaching and blocks introduction of new subjects. This inbreeding is characteristic of higher education in general, particularly in the prestige universities. Tokyo and Kyoto Universities generally hire their own alumni, with 95 percent of the Tokyo professors and 89 percent of the Kyoto staff being "homegrown." Exchanging professors with other institutions is unheard of, and Tokyo University is still opposed to hiring foreign professors on a permanent basis. Even in the new postwar national universities, 40 percent of the assistant professors are alumni. While Tokyo and Kyoto would not hire a professor who graduated from a private institution, no matter how able he might be, they on their part supply 38.2 percent of all the university professors in other institutions, public and private.[4] This explains the power Tokyo University wields nationally and the high esteem in which its professors are held. (University professors as a class, incidentally, rank third in prestige among the occupational groups in the country.)[5]

Although there has been less reform in the universities than in the elementary and secondary schools, the Japanese university is no longer an exclusive elite community. With much wider educational opportunity, resulting in students from all social classes, it has become—as in the United States—a multiuniversity, a mass institution. Under this mass-production system, students may graduate without having exchanged a single word with their professors during their entire 4 years of university life. In fact, professors often give outmoded lectures to huge classes by a public address system, and frequently absent themselves from class.

As a result, students have been as critical of conditions in the great national universities like Tokyo, which have adequate funds and excellent staff and equipment, as they have been of the mass-produced education (*masu puro kyoiku*) in the private universities. Concerning Tokyo University, students complain that the total administration and teaching system is outworn and inefficient; that professors are not appointed on the basis of merit but through the favoritism of the chair system; and that university management is antiquated and undemocratic. And there is also the universal complaint of students around the world that the present curriculum is irrelevant.

The Central Council for Education has been studying the university problem in recent years. It has been particularly concerned with the many ordinary students who, although not identified with the activist movements, have nevertheless sympathized with the radicals and sometimes supported them. After hearing testimony, the Council concluded that the moderates—as well as the radicals—distrusted the university's educational guidance because it had not kept current with the changes in society. The specific causes of their dissatisfaction were: (1) the general education courses, which they felt not only covered material already studied in high school but were poorly taught by inexperienced junior staff members with substandard teaching facilities; (2) the lack of organization and integration in the entire curriculum; and (3) the professors' indifference to students and their personal problems.[6]

Even after several years of student violence beginning in the 1960's, the chair system, which some students and faculty feel to be typical of the feudal setup of the university, still survives. Tokyo University, plagued by continuous trouble that closed the university for months, organized new faculty study committees (i.e., the University Reform Preparations Council) and began to question the organization of the institution and the content, approach, and methods of its courses.[7] It drafted a reform plan proposing replacement of the chair system by a dual organization under which all qualified teachers and researchers in a given discipline, regardless of rank, would be combined in an overall department and still would belong to the different functional units (schools, faculties, and institutes) where they taught. At the time of this study, however, the change has not been adopted and the solidly entrenched chair system remains intact.

THE ENTRANCE EXAM

As in prewar days, *shiken jigoku* ("examination hell") is the paramount problem of Japanese education. The flood of students applying to the better universities gives rise to increasingly stringent entrance examinations, thereby initiating a chain reaction that results in more difficult examinations and increased competition at the lower levels. As the preceding chapters stated, the university entrance examination distorts the entire curriculum of the secondary schools. Since teachers and schools are judged on the success of their graduates in entering a prestige university (especially Tokyo University), there is great impetus for "test-teaching"; i.e., providing the students practice in taking tests by giving them simulated tests every few weeks. Sometimes they even teach the answers to old examination questions and ignore the new approaches in mathematics, science, and English.

When a high school graduate sits for an entrance examination, his chances of succeeding are only about 1 in 5 or 1 in 6. At the hardest institution of all to enter, the small, selective Tokyo University of Arts, he has only 1 chance in 30. Medical departments are also highly competitive. They accept only 1 in 10 applicants, while the education departments of Tokyo University of Education and even rural Tottori University admit only 1 out of 12 or 13.[8] Nearly 40 percent of each year's candidates fail to gain entry into any university at all, and many of them consequently become *ronin* (literally, "wave men" or unemployed Samurai, a term now applied to students cramming to take the exams after failure). Thus, each year about one-third of the applicants become *ronin*. This situation represents thousands of man-hours wasted; it also explains why nervous breakdowns are widely prevalent among Japanese students, and accounts for Japan's having the world's highest suicide rate for the 15 to 24 age group.[9]

As one Tokyo University professor observed: "Quality control of college students in Japan is concentrated in one moment: the entrance examination."[10] The rewards are high. If a student can pass the entrance examination, he is in many institutions almost certain to graduate. And if he graduates from one of the prestigious institutions he will in most cases have his future career guaranteed. Some 60 to 70 percent of businesses, especially the larger corporations, will only consider candidates from institutions such as Tokyo or Waseda University.[11] This practice of favoring certain universities' graduates impedes the principle of equal opportunity for employment and encourages an overconcentration of applicants to the prestige institutions, thus reinforcing the existing social hierarchy among schools.

The examination system also has a far-reaching influence in molding the personality of youth. In a graduation farewell speech one high school senior said:

> Tests, tests, tests. . . . They have dominated our student days. They have kept us from taking the time to think about our society or the meaning of our own lives. . . . And even what we should have been able to regard as a haven from this robbery—our homeroom—was never a place where we could fully relate to each other as human beings. An education stressing competition and including false values, has, unawares, created a kind of person who thinks only of himself and is uninterested in others.[12]

Students are motivated by tests, judged by tests, and manipulated by tests. They acquire the skill to apply data narrowly, and learn to accept what is presented to them without question.

A professor of the liberal arts college of Tokyo University, Prof. Hiroshi Orihara, made a study of the attitudes of his freshmen regarding their exam experience.[13] A few of the high achievers found it good and accepted it as a way of life. The majority resented it. Prof. Orihara concluded that—

> . . . concentration of a student's entire energy on passing tests shrivels his natural curiosity and impairs his ability to solve problems and explore knowledge. To be an active explorer a student needs a kind of mental 'inner directedness' which will stimulate him to hold a lantern to the unknown. On the other hand, to accumulate facts so he can pass tests a student needs only a kind of 'other directedness' dependent on external stimuli. Thus a student knows that his test preparation will be evaluated by the concrete results achieved: his test scores and his relative ranking with respect to other students—a rank determined by mastering information in references and textbooks. But what is needed . . . is creative teaching that shows a student how to solve problems by setting up hypotheses and testing them against facts. . . . Unfortunately, at this moment the entrance examination system and the teachers' guides issued by the Ministry of Education dominate the scene and effectively block concern for nurturing the joys of discovery . . . .[14]

He further observed among his students a surprising backlash against society and the university as a result of the entrance examination. He suggested that the psychological reaction in many cases follows a pattern. When the student passes, he immediately loses his single-minded objective for many years. This loss generally produces in him the so-called May crisis. (May is the month after the school year begins.) Suddenly having the leisure to reflect, he is beset by doubts about the purpose of his life that he had pushed aside during his high school days; he resents the meaningless asceticism he has had to undergo; and he feels that the university life to which he had aspired has betrayed him, failing to satisfy his expectations of intellectual stimulation and concern for him as an individual. Then, with no demanding goal and no longer any pressure to study, his effort inevitably slackens. In varying degrees, almost all freshmen face a "May crisis," a time of alienation, depression, and groping for something meaningful. At times their natural exuberance, constrained for so long, explodes. They throw themselves into the student movement with a passion. Perhaps this reaction may account for the violence of the activist protesters in recent years.[15]

The professors are of little help in this crisis. They are often scholars who have specialized in a subject and assume that students will accept their mentor's evaluation of his discipline and his scholarly interests without question. They are generally inadequately aware of the relationship between their own subject and others in the curriculum. When they refuse to deal with contemporary issues, many students condemn them as unrealistic and irrelevant. If the professors see their role as professional researchers, as many do, they may not be at all interested in advising students on personal or social problems. The students interpret this as a lack of feeling for their predicament. What they want, they say, is more personal contact as well as scholarly professors, and more direct confrontation with the faculty and administration on all problems.

The public attitude toward the examination hell is analogous to Mark Twain's comment about the weather—everybody talks about it, but nobody does anything about it. The Socialists and the teachers' union propose raising the standards of the local universities through better Government financing, enabling them to compete for students with the prestige institutions, thus relieving the latter of the pressure from so many applicants. Academicians like Dr. Okochi and the Ministry's Central Council for Education have suggested that the great universities become graduate schools, removing themselves from competition for undergraduates, who would then turn to the newer national universities of lesser rank. There is loud objection to this from the Association of National Universities, the Japanese University Accreditation Association (JUAA), and other agencies who feel this is simply a device to revive the privileged prewar imperial university and to stratify the universities even more. But most agree that some method must be found for meeting the increasing demand for upper secondary and higher education, so that the trauma of the examination system may be eliminated and its stranglehold on education relaxed.

A hopeful sign is to be found in the Ministry of Education directive, effective in 1971, that instructed the universities to give interviews and theme compositions equal weight with exam results in selecting entrants. Also senior high school records—hitherto ignored as untrustworthy—are being consulted, not only for the academic record but also for documentation on a student's political activities.[16]

THE STUDENT

Status

Traditionally a university student in Japan, as a potential scholar and leader, has held high status. Even now, at a time when the university is viewed as a mass institution, some of the old respect for the university student remains. Recent student violence, however, has somewhat marred this image. In a nationwide public opinion poll of men and women of voting age taken by the *Asahi Shimbun,* the question was asked, "What do you think of today's university students?" The answer chosen by 43 percent of the respondents was "They have no consideration for others." Adults thus criticized the self-centeredness of today's students, whose only concern seems to be to graduate and obtain the status ascribed to a university graduate. Nevertheless, the old underlying respect was also evident when

37 percent chose as the statement next closest to their views, "They stand up for what they think is right."[17]

The Ministry holds that university students are not privileged persons, but mere users of the campus, with any citizen's right to enjoy public property. It also holds that students have no right to engage in on-campus political activities that restrict the rights of others. The police are now permitted to enter a campus without being invited by university authorities, and to conduct investigations and quell riots;[18] and the Ministry, by the Universities Normalization Law of August 4, 1969, can now close the universities in an emergency. University faculties and administrators have now had to accept students as individuals with rights. Tokyo University, through negotiations with the militant students, has recognized that students have equal status with faculty and administration in many areas of university life. This has not been widely accepted everywhere, but the student strife of the late 1960's has forced the universities to acknowledge the right of students to participate in university government. The precise extent of these rights remains to be hammered out in further negotiations.

Motivation

When in a separate poll the students were asked why they had entered the university, the greatest number answered, "to learn a specialty." The next largest group answered "for cultural enrichment," and "to acquire knowledge and skill that will be useful in everyday life."[19] So, as with most students around the world, they are primarily concerned with getting a job, and are only secondarily interested in being culturally enriched. But at the same time they are liberal and idealistic. In an earlier Government poll, Tokyo students, when asked to list the most acute questions in their lives, chose as the first, "to discover a goal and meaning in life." The next most frequent answer was "to find the direction to go after graduation," followed by "to reach an awareness of one's self as an individual."[20]

Since the degree indicating completion of higher education is looked upon by society in general as nothing more than a passport to a good job, students are inclined to view college only in terms of its utility in providing the label and the ascribed status necessary to secure employment. As one critic said, "Even the most able students see themselves as candidates for jobs, not as apprentices to the world of learning."[21] There is a consequent tendency for students to get by with as little academic effort as possible. They often devote themselves to extracurricular activities of greater personal interest—from mahjong to leftist activism. The prospect of flunking is not a serious concern, for this rarely happens in the Japanese university system. All that a typical student seems to want from his studies is his diploma. One senior, for example, is said to have written on his final examination, "Have found employment. A mark of 'Fair' will do. Thank you."[22]

So hungry are the great corporations for personnel, especially scientific and technical personnel, that their recruiters often sign up students from the leading universities a year before they graduate. Since the early decades of the 20th century, Japanese industrialists and businessmen have asked only one thing of the universities—that they turn out a steady stream of diploma-bearing graduates for their use. Only when employers adopt a broader attitude, and change to an open hiring policy based on individual ability, will the pressure be lifted and universities be able to concentrate on providing well-rounded training for their students.

Political Interests

Student demonstrations as well as polls have shown that there are three areas in which student interest is most easily aroused—(1) issues involving war (Japan's rearmament, nuclear weapons, American bases in Japan, and fears regarding Japan's international position), (2) issues affecting democracy (sociopolitical trends in Japan that appear to favor conservatism and reaction, such as suppression of civil rights), and (3) issues involving the social system (injustices and inequalities in daily life).[23] The one issue on which nearly all students agree is opposition to the revision of the new Constitution. This American-drafted document, which renounced war, has been under fire from the conservatives, who want to rearm. The student generation, predominantly pacifist, are determined to block this move.

Guidance and Welfare

In the prewar period, guidance meant mainly policing students. In postwar terms, with stimulus from the occupation, it began to have a more positive significance. The Enforcement Regulations of the National School Establishment Law required provision of a department of student welfare and guidance in every university and appointment of a full-time director for this activity.

In certain universities, like Tokyo and Kyoto, guidance is well developed. In Kyoto it consists of a student personnel office and a counseling room headed by a psychologist. The student personnel office is constituted of teacher representatives from each department or faculty—professors who maintain close personal connections with student leaders in their own department and try to prevent any issues from becoming overheated.

In most cases, however, according to the Ministry's White Paper of 1964, not much has been accomplished towards genuine guidance. This is because the prewar concept of student guidance has lingered, and because the professors have valued their research activities more than their teaching and guidance functions. Moreover, the radical activities of the student movement Zengakuren have absorbed all the energies of the guidance office just "to keep the lid on." Finally, the true meaning of guidance has not been understood by the general public.[24]

The Central Council for Education reported that guidance should consist at least of the following:

1. Counseling by specialists to help students solve their problems.
2. Extracurricular educational activities carried out in student residences and halls, gymnasiums, and the like.
3. Guidance in students' voluntary activities, such as student government associations and cultural and sports clubs.
4. Orientation and leadership training.
5. Health services, financial aid, and activities to improve students' physical environment.[25]

But the reality of counseling in universities is far different. There are few full-time professional counselors. Most student resident halls are about what they were in prewar days—bleak dormitories, dirty, and unheated. Many are former army barracks converted after the war to meet the housing shortage, and most have remained substantially unchanged. As late as 1963, over 30 percent of these dormitories were wooden firetraps and were more than 30 years old. Only slowly are they being replaced. One conservative argument against construction of new dormitories is that they would provide better places in which the militant Zengakuren could plot their havoc. In the meantime, several hundred thousand Tokyo students compete for rooms in boarding houses little better than slums.

Student unions, on the other hand, have developed remarkably in recent years as centers for extracurricular activity. The author visited several and stayed in the magnificent center at Hokkaido University. This center was named after the pioneer American teacher there, William S. Clark, and contributed to by the students of the University of Massachusetts, where Clark taught. It would do justice to any campus in the world.

To the students, the most popular form of activity to promote their welfare has been student government associations, intended at the beginning to be "reliable, extracurricular means of education to foster a spirit of independence among students, to develop their social consciousness, and to assist them in their efforts at mutual improvement."[26] All national universities have student government associations, but they are not under university control and have not achieved the expected educational results. To the Government's dismay, the self-governing associations have often been taken over by the Zengakuren and directed towards political movements which, according to a CCE report in 1963, "have no relation with university education proper."[27]

In addition to student government, the most popular form of student activity is membership in voluntary clubs (*Kurabu*), study circles (*Saakuru*), or groups organized for sports or cultural pursuits. Clubs have proved valuable to all concerned. Since the university rarely puts pressure on students to study, they have leisure to engage in extracurricular activities of all sorts. Club or circle activities are taken up with utmost seriousness. A Keio student reported he spent 50 percent of his student life in a club and 50 percent at his studies. There are four recognized types of clubs—cultural, academic, fraternal, and sports. The following are some of the clubs found at Doshisha University in Kyoto:[28]

Hosho School of Noh Drama
Marxist Study
Old Fine Arts
Church Chorus
Drama
Mountain Climbing
Girls' Mountain Climbing
American Folksong
Modern Jazz, Dixieland, Swing
French Literature
Esperanto
Stammerers'

Baseball
Tennis
Canoeing
Archery
Soccer
Handball
Hockey
Swimming
Judo
Golf
Volleyball
Shorinji Zen Karate

Some 60 percent of the students at Tokyo and 84 percent at private universities reportedly engage in club activities.[29]

Although each club has a nominal faculty advisor who acts as liaison with the school, clubs are largely autonomous. The author observed various club activities at Hiroshima University in the spring of 1968. The track team, coached by the seniors, practiced with great intensity every day after school until dark, and all day long on holidays and weekends. The team included four girls who were accepted on an equal basis with the boys. The female members trained, and sometimes competed, with their male teammates. The entire group was completely self-disciplined and conducted rigorous workouts. There was also a delightful camaraderie among the members, with much joking and laughter.

During a series of soccer games on a Saturday afternoon, a religious circle held a prayer meeting on the lawn at the edge of the playing field, oblivious to the excitement. Their meeting was solemn, but with some humorous parts. Most participants were men, but a few were women who took part freely, yet shyly kept to themselves. A few yards away members of a guitar circle were playing familiar Western folk tunes under the trees of a small park area. Whatever the club activity, it was pursued with great devotion, completely absorbing the students' attention and energies.

At night, along the Ginza-like mainstreets of university towns, students stroll, browse for hours in bookstores, bowl, play mahjong, or drink and dogmatize in the coffee shops or tiny bars. As in other countries, college student life, though restricted and confined in some respects, has its pleasant compensations.

FINANCING

Tuition and Fees

At national universities, even Tokyo University, tuition and fees are much lower than at private universities. Thus the factor of savings, as well as the greater prestige, encourages the bright student to prefer the national institutions. The standard tuition at the 75 national universities, as fixed by the Ministry, was 36,000 yen—the equivalent of about $128 per year in 1974,[30] an amount that covers only a small part of the actual cost of an individual's education. Direct Government funding of the institutions provides the difference. In effect, therefore, every student in a national university is in a sense on a Government scholarship.

Tuition at private universities is 4 to 5 times as much as at national universities. In addition, there are admission fees (sometimes 14 times those in national universities), required donations, and yearly "building fees." In 1974 it was said a college student would also need $100 to $150 a month for room and board.

Scholarships

Because of the high cost of a university education, many students must work or seek scholarship support. To meet this need, the Government in 1943 organized the quasi-governmental Japan Scholarship Foundation (*Ikueikai*) to provide student loans, with funds supplied by the national treasury (and repayments of former grants). Other public and private scholarship agencies award loans to students, but their impact is limited. Three-quarters of all financial aid to students is from the *Ikueikai.*

To obtain a Foundation scholarship loan, needy students in senior high schools and universities, both public and private, apply directly to their school authorities, and must present with their application a national tax office income statement from their parents to demonstrate need. If they qualify, the president or principal recommends their names to the Foundation, which grants the scholarship loan. They are exempted from tuition fees, and if money is required for living expenses they are given a fixed sum per month. The Government increases the amounts at regular intervals, but inflation always reduces the value of the loan.

There are two kinds of student loans, general and special (table 9, p. 194). According to officials of the *Ikueikai,* general scholarship loans granted 6,000 yen ($21.43 in 1973) per month to highly qualified undergraduate students who were already in the national and public universities and Government junior colleges, but could not afford to continue; master's degree candidates received 23,000 yen ($82.15) per month, and doctoral students got 30,000 yen ($107.15). Students in private universities received 8,000 yen ($28.57), and those in private junior colleges, 7,000 yen ($25).[31]

Table 9.—Monthly amounts of Japan Scholarship Foundation student loans, by category of loan and level or type of school: 1973

Level or type of school in which student is enrolled	Amount of loan in yen	U.S. dollar equivalent [1]
General Loans		
Senior high schools	¥3,000	$10.71
National and public universities and junior colleges (undergraduate level)	6,000	21.43
Private universities (undergraduate level)	8,000	28.57
Private junior colleges	7,000	25.00
National Teacher-Training School for the Handicapped	6,000	21.43
Graduate schools (M.A. level)	23,000	82.15
Graduate schools (Ph.D. level)	30,000	107.15
Graduate fine art and music training	23,000	82.14
National and public technical colleges (1st 3 years) [2]	3,500	12.50
National, public, and private technical colleges (last 2 years)	4,000	14.29
Special Loans		
Senior high school	4,000	14.29
National and public universities and junior colleges (undergraduate level)	8,000 at home	28.57
	12,000 boarding	42.86
Private universities (undergraduate level)	11,000 at home	39.29
	17,000 boarding	60.70
Private junior colleges	9,500 at home	33.92
	14,500 boarding	51.80
National and public technical colleges (1st 3 years)	4,500 at home	16.07
	6,000 boarding	21.43
(last 2 years)	6,000 at home	21.43
	10,000 boarding	35.71
Private technical colleges (last 2 years)	7,500 at home	26.79
	12,500 boarding	44.64

[1] Dollar equivalent is calculated at the 1973 rate of ¥280:$1.
[2] Students in the first 3 years of the *private* technical colleges are not eligible for loans.

Special scholarships are given to the exceptionally talented who cannot otherwise afford to enter high school or college. The amount is larger than the general loans. Selection standards for these special loans are more severe than those for general loans, with regard to both level of ability and financial need. Special scholarships differ in amount for those living at home and for boarders.

The loans may be continued throughout the period that the student is in school (not longer than 3 years of high school and 4 of college), but only if he maintains his grades. In 1972, 2.1 percent of all high school students, 11.0 percent of all undergraduates, and about 58.4 percent of all graduate students were receiving *Ikueikai* loans.[32] They may be repaid over a 20-year period, without interest, after schooling is completed. If a graduate enters the teaching field or becomes a researcher at an officially approved research institution, part or all of the loan is canceled, according to the years of service rendered. The Foundation has made a special effort to assist in training scientists. It is also increasing the number of loans to students of technical colleges.

Part-Time Employment

To make up the balance of their expenses, many college students take part-time employment, called *arubaito,* after the German word for work, *arbeit.* Most commonly the employment is tutoring high school or junior high students at the rate of about 5,000 yen ($17.85) to 6,000 yen ($21.43) per 2-hour session. Outside of Tokyo, rates are only about two-thirds of those in Tokyo. Sometimes the tutor also receives a meal. Parents clamor to hire students from the prestige schools as tutors and will pay more for them. Students who can teach English also command a higher fee.

Other sources of *arubaito* earnings include a great variety of jobs as in any country, such as delivering papers, serving as a waiter or waitress, clerking, working as a guide or model, delivering for a department store, and caddying. In large urban areas a typical pay rate for such work is 2,500 yen ($8.92) per day.

THE CURRICULUM

Universities are divided into major academic subdivisions called faculties, equivalent to the American "schools" or "colleges" within a university. Faculties are in turn subdivided into departments, and departments into chairs. Some universities are multifaculty, while others are single-faculty institutions. Table 10 (p. 198) gives the national distribution of university students by faculty for the 1972–73 school year.

The older universities, including the seven former imperial universities, are generally multifaculty institutions, and have most of the faculties listed in table 10. These older, prestigious institutions all have well-qualified teaching staffs, substantial libraries, and good equipment: they rank high among the world's great universities. (See appendix G, p. 376, for brief descriptions of the preferred former imperial universities.)

The organization and operational practices of universities are standardized on the basis of national laws and Ministry of Education requirements. The minimum requirements for graduation from universities are 124 units of credit including (1) general education—12 credits *each* in humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences; (2) foreign languages—8 credits; (3) physical education—4 credits; and (4) the student's major—76 credits. Majors in medicine or dentistry must take a 6-year course including all the above requirements plus a second foreign language and 8 additional credits. The degree granted is the bachelor's (*gakushi*).

The General Education Question

The first 1½ years of a 4-year course are usually devoted to general education courses and the remainder to the student's major field. The

Table 10.—Number of students by faculty in each type of university and in all universities; and percentage each represents of the total: 1972–73

Faculty	Type of university							
	National		Public		Private		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	282,036	100.0	44,537	100.0	1,132,975	100.0	1,459,548	100.0
Humanities (literature, law, economics, business)	16,070	5.7 [1]	10,014	22.5	162,499	14.3	188,583	12.9
Social sciences (history, sociology, political science, anthropology)	39,087	13.9	15,047	33.8	558,063	49.3	612,197	41.9
Science (natural science, physical science)	18,805	6.7	1,384	3.1	23,360	2.1	43,549	3.0
Technology (engineering, etc.)	76,433	27.1	5,167	11.6	226,726	20.0	308,326	21.1
Agriculture	24,388	8.6	1,299	2.9	27,129	2.4	52,816	3.6
Health (medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, nursing)	15,374	5.5	4,549	10.2	37,512	3.3	57,435	3.9
Home economics	796	.3	2,405	5.4	21,201	1.9	24,402	1.7
Education	69,728	24.7	1,302	2.9	28,944	2.6	99,974	6.9
Fine arts and merchant marine	3,541	1.3	1,873	4.2	30,380	2.7	35,794	2.5
Other	17,814	6.2	1,497	3.4	17,161	1.4	36,472	2.5

[1] Percentage of students taking this major out of total students in all national universities.

Source: Adapted from Mombusho, Mombu Tokei Yoran, 1973 (Tokyo: Mombusho, 1973), p. 56.

general education subjects are often unpopular with students who are impatient to get into their specialty.

The general education requirement of 36 credit hours has received constant criticism from some specialists and industrialists. This subsided in 1956 when the Ministry issued new Regulations for the Establishment of Universities, which permitted certain scientific and technical faculties to substitute 8 hours of their own foundation courses for part of the required 36 general education hours. This meant the reduction of general education requirements to 24 hours. Some engineering colleges took advantage of this ruling, but most retained the 36, and some instead extended the undergraduate course by 1 year to get in all the necessary scientific and technical courses. Despite this partial setback, there was clear evidence in the statements of both professional scientific organizations and educational officials that general education had become an accepted part of Japanese higher education.[33]

As an alternative to separate courses in general education, the Central Council for Education proposed that general education be included in all subjects and incorporated into the contents of each discipline. "In the future," it said, "the formal automatic distinction between general and specialized education must be abolished."[34]

The difficulty here is that many of the specialist-professors in the advanced disciplines are the very ones who are opposed to general education, and they are neither prepared to teach it nor do they understand its purposes. Left up to them, general education will simply not be taught, and the continuance of a major postwar reform (thought to be permanent) will be threatened.

Employment Entrance Examinations

Before a university graduate can enter a business firm, he is confronted with one final formal test—the company entrance examination. Those who prepare the examination are generally the senior professional staff in the company. If the candidate is trained in engineering, for example, the examination consists of questions that the firm's engineers happen to know about or be interested in, and are not necessarily of an important or fundamental nature in engineering. According to a noted professor emeritus of technology, university professors—although they feel such examinations are inadequate—would not think of arguing with employers. Instead, they repeat the old vicious cycle of teaching to the expected type of examination, attempting to provide such minute detail in their specific fields that the student will be able to answer anything he is asked.[35] Thus the pressure of examinations hangs over a student right up to the time he enters his profession.

As a Priority

From 1955 on, Japan's industry made rapid advances until the Nation reached world leadership in shipbuilding and several other industries. During this period the need for scientists, technicians, and researchers became crucial, and the universities were called on to produce them. Since science and technology courses were more difficult and more expensive than the social studies and humanities, students did not automatically gravitate to these fields in sufficient numbers. The ratio of science majors to social studies-humanities majors in 1956–57 was only 3 to 7.[30]

The Ministry, determined to reverse this proportion, offered the inducement of scholarships. It formulated a 7-year plan of granting scholarships to increase the intake of science, engineering, agriculture, and pharmacy students in both public and private universities to 16,000 (later 20,000) per year between 1961 and 1967. The goal was exceeded. The Government in addition gave priority in funds to faculties of science in national and public universities to support teaching and research. These faculties have thus been subsidized at a much greater rate than those in the humanities and social studies, and hence have greatly increased in number.

Nevertheless in 1972, after this enormous investment, the number of university students enrolled in science, engineering, or agriculture as compared to humanities and social sciences remained very close to the ratio of 15 years earlier. Instead of 3 to 7 it was about 3 to 6, showing only a slight gain for the basic and applied sciences. More than half (55 percent) of all university students were still enrolled in humanities and social sciences, while only about 30 percent were majoring in the sciences and technology (table 10, p. 198).

Technical Colleges

The demand by industrialists for technological manpower led to the establishment in 1962 of a new type of institution, the 5-year technical college (*kosen*), mentioned in the preceding chapter. Admitting students who have completed *junior* high school (ninth grade), it combines the senior high and junior college levels and may be under national, public, or private auspices. Eighteen such institutions were set up at the beginning, all heavily subsidized by the Government. They graduated their first classes in 1967. These graduates proved to be excellent middle-level technicians who were promptly placed in good jobs.

The criteria for the equipment, teaching staff, and curriculum of these institutions were laid out in the Technical College Establishment Standards Law drawn up by the Ministry of Education. This law states that the purposes of the technical college are to train technicians with well-rounded general knowledge and a thorough specialized knowledge in technology. The specific educational objectives to attain this goal include having students—

1. Learn the general culture required of a social being.
2. Acquire basic knowledge and techniques concerning design, production, and construction as well as the ability to plan and execute work in the areas of management, testing, researching, and surveying.
3. Acquire the capability for comprehensive judgment and creativity.
4. Develop a spirit of cooperation, a sense of responsibility, and the ability to lead others.
5. Learn good health habits.
6. Understand world cultures and develop an interest in international society.[37]

The new schools offer courses in one or more of a variety of specialized technological fields, such as mechanical engineering, production machinery engineering, electronic engineering, electrical engineering, industrial chemistry, chemical engineering, civil engineering, architecture, metallurgical engineering, radio wave communications, aircraft and aero-engineering, printing engineering, and industrial design.

In 1967, five former national merchant marine high schools were converted to technical colleges, offering a 5½-year course rather than the usual 5-year course. In 1971 radio wave communications was offered for the first time by three national schools, which were elevated to the rank of technical colleges. By 1972 there were 63 *kosens* serving about 50,000 students (table 1, p. 107).

In 1974, the regular 5-year course included 2,975 hours of general education, most of which (but not all) was offered during the first 3 years. In the first year, the student begins his technical major, and eventually takes a total of 3,570 hours in it (more than the same 3,000 to 3,200 hours a university major in technology takes). Accordingly, the technical college, though not parallel in level to the university, covers nearly the same subject matter as a university technical department, without stinting general education. The Ministry reports optimistically that the general education offered by the *kosen* is more effective than that offered by the university, where it is often given short shrift.

As at the university, the *kosen* staff is made up of professors, assistant professors, lecturers, assistants, instructors, and administrators. Their qualifications must be similar to those of university staff members—they must have advanced specialized knowledge in their field. Like university staffers, they do not have to have teaching certificates: in fact, they are often chosen from among able industrial technicians, as well as from among those experienced in teaching at the senior high or university level.

The type of program in institutions of this kind and the distribution of general education and specialized technical education throughout a student's 5 years may be seen in tables 11 and 12 (pp. 202 and 203).

Table 11.—Standard curriculum for general education subjects in a technical college: 1972

Areas	Subjects	Number of class hours per week each year[1] 1st	2d	3d	4th	5th
Grand total		*28*	*27*	*18*	*10*	*5*
	Curricular					
Total		*27*	*26*	*17*	*10*	*5*
Humanities	National language[2]	3	3	2	1	0
	Ethics/philosophy				2	
Social science	History	1	1	2		
	Geography	2				
	Law and economics				2	2
Natural science	Mathematics	6	6	6		
	Physics	2	3			
	Chemistry[3]	3	2			
Health and physical education		3	3	2	1	1
Art		1	1			
Foreign language	English	6	5	3	2	2
	2d foreign language			2	2	2
	Extracurricular					
Total		1	1	1		

[1] A "class hour" is 50 minutes.

[2] Emphasis is on the current national language and only incidentally on the classics.

[3] Industrial chemistry and metallurgical engineering courses, all 5 hours are taken in the 1st year.

Source: Adapted from Minoru Shimosaka, "Technical Education in Technical Colleges." Section III in "Present State of Technical and Technological Education in Japan" (Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1972), p. 79. Mimeographed in Japanese; titles given here are translations.

GRADUATE EDUCATION

Development

Graduate schools were not well developed before the war. They existed nominally, but there was no fixed program and no period of residence for the candidate. A high-level doctorate was granted only after years of productive scholarship. Graduate school was a place for well-to-do candidates for professorships to await a position opening. The Government established a new system of graduate education in 1953, but granted it a minimal budget. Expansion has thus been slow. As late as 1967, a Tokyo University professor charged that the Ministry had "failed to increase the financial support for either the system or the participating institutions." [38]

Nevertheless, since 1961 a number of universities have offered a new American-style master's degree (not available before the war) and the new doctorate degree. The master's is granted for an additional 2 years

Table 12.—Standard curriculum for technical subjects, mechanical engineering course, in a technical college: 1972

Subject	Number of hours per week each year[1]				
	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th
Total	8	9	21	29	35
Applied mathematics[2]				4	
Applied physics[3]			3	2	
Descriptive geometry[4]	2				
Mechanics[4]		1	1		
Engineering mechanics[4]			2		
Strength of materials[5]			2	2	2
Engineering thermodynamics				2	
Hydraulics				2	
Fundamentals of electrical engineering			2	2	
Mechanical technology			2	2	
Metal materials		2	2		
Machine design			1	2	
Machine design and drawing	3	3	3	3	6
Engineering experiments[6]				3	4
Machine practice	3	3	3		
Selected subjects[7]				5	17
Graduation thesis					6

[1] A "class hour" is 50 minutes.
[2] Includes laboratory exercises.
[3] Includes exercises and experiments.
[4] Includes exercises.
[5] Covers applied elasticity, mechanics of solids, and materials' testing.
[6] Includes mechanical and electrical engineering experiments.
[7] Each technical college selects from an authorized list a series of additional courses which the college is prepared to offer as "selected subjects." The student must select 22 hours of these during his last 2 years. For mechanical engineering the subjects include the following: Dynamics of machinery, heat transfer engineering, machanical vibration, internal combustion engines, steam engines, fluid machinery, prime mover engineering fluid dynamics, machine tools, production engineering, automatic controls, measurement and instrumentation engineering, lubrication engineering, nonmetallic materials, plastics, fundamentals of chemical engineering, instrumental methods of chemical analysis, industrial foreign language, and others.

Source: Adapted from Minoru Shimosaka, "Technical Education in Technical Colleges," Section III in "Present State of Technical and Technological Education in Japan," p. 80.

of full-time study beyond the bachelor's degree, including 30 credit hours and a substantial amount of research leading to a thesis. The program is similar to that in the United States, but the Japanese degree generally stresses concentrating in the field of specialization with little study in related fields.

Recently the Government enlarged the quotas for graduate study in an effort to stimulate research in the crucial areas of science and technology. But surprisingly, in a country so committed to education, only 70 percent of the quotas were filled. The reason is that Japanese society does not sufficiently reward those who elect to go on for an advanced degree; instead, industry tends to snap up graduates as fast as they win their bachelor's. Corporations are eager enough to recruit those with doctorates in technology and engineering, but, as in many other countries, they show no particular interest in those with advanced training in the humanities and social sciences. If the latter are employed by industry, their beginning salary is only slightly higher than those with the bachelor's degree. In

1972 there were 44,749 graduate students—31,504 master's and 13,245 doctor's degree candidates (table 1, p. 107, footnote 6).[39]

In spite of the relative scarcity of interested students, there is keen competition among institutions to establish advanced programs, probably because graduate schools bring status to a university. The universities must, of course, demonstrate to the Ministry that they have the necessary resources in personnel and equipment to warrant approval of these programs. In 1973, the Ministry listed 192 graduate schools: 61 national universities, 19 public universities, and 112 private universities.[40] About 80 percent of the national universities, including all of the former imperial universities, have graduate schools. Such schools are not given separate status, because they are attached to the undergraduate faculties and dependent on them for funds, staffing, and equipment. One scholar complained that they are looked upon as an appendage to the university, and the graduate students are regarded as stepchildren.[41]

As part of the comprehensive reform program proposed by the Central Council for Education (CCE), the graduate schools, heretofore neglected, are to be reorganized and better supported. Under this proposal the revamped graduate schools (*daigakuin*) will provide an advanced academic education of 2 or 3 years' duration to graduates of the general universities or to exceptionally able persons who may be seeking to update or broaden their qualifications. This program can (and often will) lead to the masters' degree. As mentioned earlier, a new-style *kenkyuin* (research institute) recommended by the CCE will normally be separate and independent of the undergraduate program, and will provide the highly advanced training leading to a doctorate.

Teaching Staff and Students

Graduate schools draw upon senior undergraduate instructors for graduate instructional personnel. When a teacher instructs in a graduate school he usually teaches two graduate courses and four undergraduate courses, each meeting for one 2-hour session per week. This totals 12 class hours, which is not unusual when compared to an American professor's load, but the six different courses for which he must prepare make it heavy in that respect. When one realizes that in Japan about 25 percent of the national and public university professors and 44 percent of the private university professors have to take extra teaching jobs merely to make a decent living, it is clear why Japanese professors complain that they have little time for research. In addition to his teaching, the graduate school professor typically provides dissertation guidance for three or more candidates. It is therefore little wonder that some of his candidates have trouble finding him, as was reported to the author by a foreign doctoral candidate.

Most graduate students have done their undergraduate work in the same institution: they rarely transfer to a different school, and, if they do, they are likely to suffer from some prejudice and to find that their rate of progress is slower than that of the local products. The old school tie relationship, called *gakubatsu* (academic clique), comes into play, and leads to inbreeding in every university. Furthermore, the chair system often forces the candidate into a feudalistic and dependent relationship with his advisor, thwarting independent research.

The Doctor's Degree

The doctor's degree requires completion of 3 or more years of study beyond the master's and a total of 50 credit hours in graduate work. Each student must also complete a major research project, submit a dissertation, and pass a final examination. Most senior professors guiding doctoral research are themselves products of the old system of prewar education and hold a high-level degree similar to the British Litt. D. They strive to establish standards for the new doctorate that are comparable to those of the old, and therefore require the candidate to spend much more time than the theoretical 5 years to complete the degree. Customarily a young scholar must also prove himself in research and publication before receiving the award.

Although the new doctoral degree was scheduled to be granted after 1961, the older, more prestigious institutions have been slow in awarding it. Some private institutions and a few major national universities such as Hokkaido and Hiroshima have given the doctorate when earned according to the regulations. Tokyo and Kyoto have granted fewer doctorates, and some departments and faculties take pride in withholding them. In the meantime, doctoral candidates continue to enroll in seminars or take a teaching position in a nearby university. Even as candidates they have considerable prestige, and are not required to hold the degree in order to be employed in their own or any other respected university. After a half dozen years or so the major professor will decide that the candidate has acquired the scholarship and the maturity necessary to merit the degree, and he then asks the candidate to write his dissertation. When it is accepted, the degree is finally granted. One distinguished professor of a noted institution who has several doctoral candidates, all of whom have completed the 5 years of study, said stoutly to the author, "I have determined not to give any of them the degree yet." As a consequence of this approach, the total of new doctorates granted by all universities in Japan from 1961 to 1967 was only 6,929 (excluding medical and dental doctorates).[48] This was just a few more than the number granted by the various branches of the University of California from 1960 to 1966—5,586.[49]

PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

Their Special Role

Private universities are especially significant in Japan because they constitute about 75 percent of the total number of universities and educate about 75 percent of all university students.[44] As of 1967, they produced 30 percent of the doctors, 73 percent of the dentists, 77 percent of the pharmacists, and 65 percent of the scientists and engineers.[45] Most are located in the great cities, and they provide the lion's share of night school and correspondence education for the Nation's less advantaged youth. Because of the great demand for university education, they have expanded much faster than Government institutions, which are not as flexible. Between 1956 and 1966, for example, the number of their entrants increased 286 percent, as compared to 33 percent for Government institutions.[46] This ratio was unique among advanced nations.

The private institutions are supported by neither private philanthropy and alumni, as in the United States, nor the national budget, as in England. For their income they must rely heavily on student tuition, fees, and special contributions (about 50 percent), loans (over 30 percent), income from commercial enterprises owned and operated by the university (almost 10 percent of income), and Government aid, which amounts to only approximately 12 percent of a typical private university budget. Tuition is therefore constantly raised, and the universities must accept the maximum number of students in order to survive. This spiraling of educational expenses has encountered great resistance. For example, when 76 private universities announced tuition increases ranging from 10 percent to 50 percent effective in the 1968 school year,[47] a rash of strikes promptly erupted.

State universities, with their low tuition, attract the brightest students, but private universities act as a safety valve for those who fail to gain entrance into the public institutions. The examinations are easier, and these universities emphasize the humanities and social sciences, which require less costly facilities than the natural sciences and medicine.

A 1968 Ministry White Paper on Private Schools described their plight.[48] It found their educational offerings and equipment poor. Their overall student-teacher ratio was 1 to 37, more than 3 times that of the national universities, which was 1 to 11.4. Classes were usually huge, occasionally as large as 4,000. Over 40 percent of the professors held teaching jobs on the side. Part-time lecturers from other institutions outnumbered the full-time lecturers. Libraries and science equipment were inadequate (except for the older institutions, such as Waseda, Keio, Doshisha, and one newer one, International Christian University). The private universities spent on the average only $611 per student each year, half the amount spent by the national institutions. The floor space per student was only one-third that of the national institutions. They were heavily in debt for construction of new buildings, and debt-repayment costs cut into funds that might otherwise be used for salaries and research. The result was overcrowding, lowered standards, and student discontent. In a 1968 poll more than half the students at Doshisha and the mammoth Nihon University professed dissatisfaction with their schools.[49]

Since the private universities serviced the majority of the Nation's youth, and since their financial straits resulted in heavy pressure on the students' parents (who are largely from middle-income families), the funding crisis of these institutions constituted an important part of the total national university problem.

The best answer to the financial problem, as seen by the schools themselves and by study councils set up by the Government, was larger state subsidies. The Constitution (article 89), however, prohibited direct subsidies to private universities. Circumvention of this obstacle was permitted after 1952 through the mechanism of a Private School Promotion Association established by the Government for the purpose of making long-term loans at low interest rates (and also outright grants to improve the quality of offerings). This action has stalled off bankruptcy, but has stimulated more and more borrowing. Faculty members of private universities have in the past suffered from low salaries, and have enjoyed little security. As a remedial measure, the Government set up by law a Private School Personnel Mutual Aid Association, which provided a comprehensive (and compulsory) health, welfare, insurance, and pension system for private schoolteachers. This helped greatly, and gradually salaries also were made more competitive; by the mid-1960's they were only 8 to 18 percent lower than in national and public universities.[50] Furthermore, in fiscal 1970 the Ministry established the Japan Private School Promotion Foundation, a quasi-governmental corporation designed to administer more effectively financial assistance programs covering current expenses, research, and the salaries of full-time teachers. The Foundation took over the functions of the Private School Promotion Association.

A substantial new series of subsidies to private higher education institutions was launched in 1973, comprising three different programs. The first program consisted of "Subsidies for Current Expenses of Private Universities and Other Colleges," amounting to the equivalent of some $120,506,000 to help pay for the day-to-day operation of private institutions. Of this sum, $83,333,000 was used partially to subsidize teachers' salaries in selected private universities, junior colleges, and technical colleges, and to help hire some full-time business personnel to put private college management on a more effective basis. The subsidies were used particularly to support staffing in the fields of science and technology, medicine, and dentistry. The recipients of these grants were the old, well-established private universities—Nihon, Keio, Waseda, Jikei, Nihon Medical, Tokyo College of Physics, Tokyo Medical, Tokai, Tokyo Womens' College of

Medicine, and Kurume (in Kyushu). The moneys were handled by the Private School Promotion Foundation.

The second program provided for improvement of educational facilities at the newly established science-related departments of private universities. It provided $1,466,000 in matching funds to build and equip laboratories and classrooms and to purchase libraries for science and technology, medical, and pharmacy departments. It also authorized the purchase of books of a general nature for both science students and those in the humanities.

The third program, funded to the extent of $6,705,000, was for improving research facilities at private universities; it provided two-thirds of the costs of construction and equipment for such facilities. This program also subsidized up to two-thirds of the cost of purchasing machines, equipment, books, and other facilities necessary for basic scientific research in private universities. The program did not grant funds to assist the junior colleges, however.

Scholarship loans, granted to students in national, public, and private schools for many years, are more than ever before being used especially to attract students into science, technology, and medicine.

Ritsumeikan University

One of the historic advantages of private schools, from the time of the *juku* of the Tokugawa period, is their freedom to experiment with new concepts, curriculums, and administrative relations. Two unusual private institutions, Ritsumeikan in Kyoto and International Christian University in Tokyo, illustrate some of these advantages.

Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto is a large coeducational university based on a college founded in 1903. Before the war it had a reputation for being highly nationalistic; its postwar image, however, is liberal and leftist. Its student body of about 20,000 is located on two separate campuses in Kyoto. Its specialties are law, economics, business administration, industrial sociology, literature, and science and engineering. It is a regional university drawing students primarily from central Japan. Graduates tend to enter smaller or newer commercial firms, local government, elementary school teaching, and other middle-level jobs.

During all the postwar years, and until 1969, Ritsumeikan was headed by a distinguished law professor and famous civil libertarian from prewar days, Dr. Hiroshi Suekawa. He imbued the institution with the stamp of his personality. As a liberal he espoused many of the causes about which students were demonstrating, and frequently joined them in their demonstrations and parades. Dr. Suekawa was the first university administrator to give students a voice in institutional government. They not only have been permitted to participate in the choice of president and staff members, but also in the budget-making process as well. His policy was to take the students into his confidence in all university matters, rather than concealing these matters from them, as is the practice in most institutions.

At Ritsumeikan the all-university board of councilors, the highest administrative body, consists of 7 deans, 15 members of the board of regents, 3 auditors, and 50 student representatives. All have an equal vote. A special "Conference on University Development" consists of the president, 21 faculty representatives, the business manager, and 25 students. According to Dr. Hiroo Suzuki, the initiative is in the hands of the board of councilors, on which students are heavily represented. The channels of communication to the student body are thus always open, and the students wield considerable influence in determining policy.[51]

Tuition at Ritsumeikan in 1969 was $130 per year, and the entrance fee was $70. In addition, the students were required to contribute $48 towards buildings and equipment. In comparison to the great private schools in Tokyo the tuition and other fees at Ritsumeikan are very low. The administration tried to raise the costs but the students, although made aware of the university's dire financial straits, refused to approve an increase. As a consequence, the university could not pay competitive salaries to its teaching staff, and some left. But because of the tradition of freedom at Ritsumeikan, most of the professors stayed on. Later, however, the activist students and professors forced out Dr. Suekawa, and took control of the institution.

Despite the radicalism and occasional violence, Ritsumeikan has continued to attract large numbers of students. Because of low tuition, many local youth apply; e.g., 75,691 in 1969. Of these, about 5,418 were accepted into the freshmen class. Since the entrance examination fee is about $14 per person, the income derived from this source alone was over $1 million, an important item (along with tuition receipts) in the university's annual budget. For the rest of the costs of a new and attractive plant, plus a large library, the university must depend mainly on loans and a small amount of government aid for science and technology.

International Christian University (ICU)

Private universities like ICU are willing to be more flexible in their arrangements for foreign students than national institutions. Many American universities, colleges, and consortia now have a "Junior Year Abroad" or similar overseas programs in Japan. They prefer to affiliate with colleges in Tokyo. Several private universities, including Sophia (a Jesuit institution) and the two famous old universities, Waseda and Keio, have established international divisions that plan special programs for foreign students. American colleges have made contracts with them to provide language and area programs on Japan, and they all try to provide at least intensive language training.

International Christian University has been a leader in integrating foreign students into its regular program. It is a small, private, liberal arts institution located in Mitaka on the outskirts of Tokyo. Its founding soon after the war was a direct result of a desire for reconciliation on the part of Christian leaders and laymen on both sides of the Pacific. Japanese donors purchased a 365-acre campus; Americans contributed to the buildings and operation costs through a permanent foundation in New York. ICU was chartered in 1953 and graduated its first class in 1957.

The international dimension is built into its faculty and student body. Almost 25 per cent of its faculty of approximately 100, and nearly 15 percent of its student body of about 1,400 are non-Japanese. In most private universities the faculty-student ratio is 1 to 37; at ICU it is 1 to 14, very close to that in the national universities. Classes are small and relations with the resident staff are intimate, especially for those living on campus. Since the faculty is international and courses are given in both English and Japanese, it is necessary for all students seeking a degree to be functionally bilingual. Unlike the international divisions of Sophia, Waseda, and Keio, however, ICU considers its foreign students a part of the regular program. An American taking a degree must study intensive Japanese for his first year to prepare him to take course work in Japanese. Similarly, a Japanese student must master English. Provision is made, however, for American students who are not seeking a degree to take their program entirely in English.

ICU is also noted for its general education program. Rather than turning general education over to the junior members of the staff, as is done in most universities in Japan, it is taught by a cross section of the faculty, including some senior professors. And rather than offering fragmented surveys of disciplines that serve as general education in some institutions, ICU uses an interdisciplinary approach, with emphasis on the interrelatedness of different areas of knowledge.

It is strong in its intensive English program, in Western studies for Japanese, and in its Japanese language and area program for Americans. Other unusual aspects of the institution include (1) use of aptitude tests and group interviews in selecting new entrants, instead of total reliance on achievement tests; (2) enrollment of the highest percentage of women students in a coeducational university (47 percent); (3) graduate schools in the fields of education and public administration, the latter being the only one of its kind in Japan; (4) organization of the university into "divisions," instead of "faculties," and of the staff into regular professorships instead of "chairs"; and (5) maximum use of library resources—required reading for all classes and adequate library holdings in all subjects available on open shelves.

The University of California has an exchange arrangement with ICU, making it the center for one of the California Exchange Abroad Programs. Some 30 undergraduates from all 9 campuses of this American university come to ICU for 1 year's study, specializing in intensive Japanese language and area courses. A California professor administers the program while serving as a visiting professor at ICU. In exchange, the University of California provides tuition exemptions and scholarship aid to ICU students coming to its various branches in California. An ICU professor administers the program in California, and serves concurrently as a part-time visiting professor.

With its bilingual program and international staff and student body, International Christian University has been a pioneer in international and crosscultural education at the higher education level in Japan.

TSUKUBA RESEARCH AND EDUCATION NEWTOWN

In an effort to decentralize higher education, alleviate some of the academic congestion in Tokyo, and create a model academic community, the Government for several years has been sponsoring the building of a bright new "brain city" at the foot of Mt. Tsukuba in Ibaraki Prefecture, 40 miles northeast of Tokyo. Similar to Russia's "science city," Akademgorodok in Siberia, Tsukuba Research and Education Newtown will eventually be twice the size of its Soviet counterpart. It will house an ultramodern university of 9,000 students and 40 research institutes, including a space center and the world's largest earthquake simulation table, together with 200,000 residents—scientists, academics, and members of the support community. The central institution of the complex is the new national University of Tsukuba. Opened in October 1973, this university is operated on a formula worked out and recommended by the Central Council for Education in 1971. It will eventually replace Tokyo University of Education, and will attempt to maintain the best of the latter's time-honored traditions without being bound by its pattern of organization and practice.

Tsukuba University will thus be a model for the university reform planned throughout Japan—a reform long overdue, in the view of the CCE, as a means of "opening [up] higher education institutions to the current needs of the state and society." Contemporary universities had grown "too rigid" to meet the burgeoning demands for scientific and vocational training.[52]

Administratively unique, the new national university will be divided into six "cluster colleges," each specializing in a major academic area. Cluster I, started in 1974, included three colleges—one specializing in each of the three areas of humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences; Cluster II, planned to be opened in 1975, will cover cultural and biological sciences; Cluster III—business administration and engineering (1977); Cluster IV—physical education (1974); Cluster V—fine arts (1975); and Cluster VI—medicine (1974).

A student may enroll in any college in the cluster that he chooses. He may study the field in depth or more generally. He has the freedom to move from one college to another if he changes his mind during his course of study or merely if he finds an interest in classes in another cluster. Interdisciplinary courses will also be offered as a means of providing further flexibility. General education, which is now separated from specialized education in regular universities and concentrated during the first 2 years, will continue to be offered in Tsukuba in the cluster colleges, but it will be integrated with the major subjects throughout the 4-year course. The trimester system will be adopted in order to provide year-round education and to facilitate international exchange of teachers and students, which is difficult under the usual university calendar in Japan. Each cluster will be composed of a mix of students from different disciplines for the purpose of widening their academic perspectives and making them more broadly humane. Because it was felt that under the traditional university organization the research function steals time and effort from the teaching function, under the new cluster system at Tsukuba teaching and research will be separated, and specialized clusters will be concerned with research. Responsible teachers from various disciplines will cooperate in teaching and guidance.

For research purposes, the research staff will be organized into 26 academic units, including such units as those for philosophy and thought, history and anthropology, literature and linguistics, and social medicine. All members of the University will belong to one of the academic units, and at the same time to one of the teaching units under the clusters. Thus all will be involved in one or more of the governing bodies of the University, called "teaching staff meetings." Interested researchers may form ad hoc project teams to focus their research interest on such fields as area studies of Latin America or China, and, when the objectives of the project are fulfilled, the team can be disbanded. To promote highly advanced research and training, Tsukuba will offer a 5-year integrated doctoral course for those who have completed the undergraduate program at Tsukuba or elsewhere and seek advanced study. This will enable the university to give consistent research guidance over an extended period of time. A separate master's course will be offered to qualify personnel in advanced specialties as well as to provide opportunities for continuing education to adults already working in society.

The feature of the model that has excited the greatest opposition in the academic community and amongst liberals and leftists is the centralization of power in the hands of a few administrators—the president, who is elected by a 50-man faculty senate representing the 26 schools but is formally appointed by the Minister of Education, and the 5 vice presidents, who are selected by the president on the recommendation of the university senate but are also officially appointed by the Minister. The senate will still be the supreme decisionmaking organ. The left-leaning Tokyo University of Education, which the new university is to completely replace by 1978, protested this centralization on the grounds that the administration will be under the thumb of the Minister of Education. Its staff members delayed the move to Tsukuba for 10 years because they didn't want to leave the cultural advantages and bright lights of Tokyo and because they feared oppressive Government control as a threat to their academic freedom. One radical educator said, "The government talks about 'counter-measures against urban congestion' but its real objective is to subjugate scholars to capitalistic policy and economic competition."[53]

According to some academicians and students, one of the implied aims of the Government in establishing Tsukuba University is to head off any recurrence of the campus revolts of the late 1960's which paralyzed many of the Nation's universities.[54] Undoubtedly, if the new university plan is a success it will set an example for about 100 additional universities that the Ministry of Education wants to build throughout the country before 1986. Student critics, especially, are fearful that the structure of Tsukuba University (and future similar institutions) is designed to deny them participation in university governance. It is significant that in the plans for running the institution no provision was made for student representation. It is, however, the intention of the planning authorities to make the university as "open" as possible. This is understood to include a readiness to consider opinions from outside in matters relating to operating the university, and a policy of fostering close cooperation with other universities and research institutions, as well as with local communities. Exchange students and researchers from other Japanese universities and foreign countries will be a prominent feature of the new university, and provision will be made for a broad system of visiting professors; these arrangements have not been possible under the traditional university system. If these plans are carried out, Tsukuba can eliminate the inbreeding, isolation, and rigidity that have plagued the university system for many years.

LIBRARIES

The old tradition regarding libraries in Japan held that they were to preserve books and documents. The library was a storehouse: books and the printed word were deeply respected but there was no effort to make them widely available. At the university the library was primarily for faculty members, research scholars, and doctoral candidates. Undergraduates did not qualify for stack privileges and could only use materials in the general reading rooms.

The greatest library was that of Tokyo Imperial University, which, before it was destroyed in the Great Earthquake of 1923, had 760,000 volumes. Also destroyed at that time were the libraries of Meiji, Senshu, and Nihon Universities and the Tokyo College of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi University). World War II brought the complete or partial devastation of 242 college and university libraries. During the postwar years the process of rebuilding libraries was soon initiated, but progress was agonizingly slow because of impoverished economic conditions. Tokyo University Library, as well as others, had been deprived of the international learned journals since 1937, when most foreign subscriptions were stopped. During the occupation the Rockefeller Foundation undertook to fill the gap by making available microfilms of the leading journals since that time. The occupation also provided 100 teacher-education library centers, each with a collection of 100 professional books in English. In addition, many other American agencies, military and civilian, contributed books to universities.

The occupation reforms had their greatest impact on elementary and secondary schools, and it is here that the libraries were most greatly aided. Universities continued their traditional method of teaching by lecture, and this practice, more than lack of money, inhibited refurbishment of libraries. However, the 1949 university system reform provided a major stimulus for change. New national universities, made up of several prewar schools, pooled library resources and began to expand as soon as they could. The two U.S. Education Missions emphasized the importance of university libraries and the training of librarians. And the Japanese University Accreditation Association and the Ministry of Education set up minimum standards for university libraries as a condition for accreditation, even though they could not always be met. Efforts to achieve professional status for academic librarians, however, were discouraging. On the advice of professional librarians, the science council of Japan submitted a series of recommendations to the Prime Minister in 1961 urging the Government to strengthen library holdings, buildings, and staff, and especially to employ qualified professional librarians, not clerks. Yet the problem remains.

Today, with a few outstanding exceptions, heads of university libraries are still older professors who have been given the post as an honor and to facilitate their own research. It is a part-time activity, not a permanent assignment. A librarian must continue to teach in his department and attend to all regular committee work. Working librarians are still classified as clerical workers. In general, the few trained librarians on the staff, mainly graduates of the Ministry's National Junior College of Librarianship (established in 1964) or the Department of Library Science of Keio University, concentrate on buying books, building a collection, and cataloging it. Many libraries, although stocked with excellent collections, are not well organized. Until recently each had its own method of classification, but most are converting to the Nippon Decimal System, a modification of the Dewey Decimal System.

At a number of large national universities, the main library is in the heart of the campus and contains the bulk of the collection. Besides this, there are two main types of branch libraries: (1) those belonging to specialized schools, such as engineering and medicine, which may be on separate campuses of the same university and, although nominally under the control of the university librarian, in practice operate more or less independently; and (2) those belonging to departmental faculties (i.e., economics, law, education, and the like) which are on the main campus, but are attached to their respective departments and are independent of the main library. These latter types of branches have been built up by the faculties concerned from their own budget and are for their own use. Their holdings are not regularly listed in the main library. Over the years many of these departmental libraries have become large separate libraries with their own policies, strong in historical tradition and useful to those who have access to them. Thousands of other books, however, are held permanently in professors' offices.

This situation has become intolerable to many scholars. At Tokyo University a dynamic professor of religions, the late Dr. Hideo Kishimoto, long experienced with UNESCO, complained about the Tokyo University Library and was asked by the president to take over the librarianship. He said that he accepted the post with the determination to "destroy and rebuild," for he felt that although it was Japan's greatest library (2.7 million books in 1964) it was stagnant.[55] His first step was to pay frequent visits to the officials of the Ministries of Education and Finance, to impress on them the importance of the university library and the crying need to reform it. When he finally secured their financial support, he set about making changes. He renovated the library building to make it more efficient, installing central heating, building study carrels, and converting a lavish memorial room used only for ceremonial purposes to a free reading room. He ordered the microfilming of the catalogs of the departmental libraries within the university, and made a central union catalog listing all holdings. After a long effort, he introduced the "coordinated decentralization" of departmental libraries that he had observed at Harvard University,[56] and persuaded the various departments to cooperate in allowing students from other disciplines to use their libraries. He also introduced the open stack system for general books. His greatest problem, however, was in persuading his colleagues to adopt the reserve book system and assign outside reading for their courses. He also encouraged the professors to recommend titles for library purchase, hoping thereby to involve them in the new system. Up to that point most purchases had been determined by regular library personnel.

Following the success of his efforts at Tokyo, Dr. Kishimoto turned his attention to the libraries of other national universities, and attempted to convert them to his system. He arranged for the chief librarians of the six major universities to meet with influential officials of the Ministry of Education to enlist their support for change and to obtain ideas on extending the reform to other institutions. He brought in Dr. Douglas Bryant from the Harvard University Library and established seminars around the country to teach new concepts and techniques. He accompanied Dr. Bryant as his interpreter, using the authority of the visitor to induce reform. Although suffering from a fatal disease, Dr. Kishimoto worked furiously to effect "the Kishimoto Revolution" in librarianship.

Kishimoto's successor was not a professional librarian, but a pharmacologist. He was the first head librarian to be elected by the whole staff of the university, indicating that the library was indeed at the center of the entire institution. He has committed himself to carrying out the reforms of his predecessor, but difficulties still remain in realizing all of Kishimoto's dreams.

In 1967 Japan's 369 universities had about 800 main and branch libraries.[87] Many institutions are moving toward improving their libraries and enlisting the cooperation of the professors. At Kyoto University, with its great collection of more than 2½ million volumes, the head librarian is a professional and teaches a course in librarianship. As at Tokyo, there is a complete union catalog of all holdings in the main library. The university has also received a special budget from the Ministry for introducing the reserve book system.

The library of International Christian University has, since the university's founding in 1952, been a model of modern library operations for other institutions. All subject materials are housed in one central collection. It is also the only completely open-stack library in Japan. Heated and air-conditioned in a functional building with a flexible modular plan for ease of expansion, it is well equipped for library service. Most professors require reference reading for their courses and students withdraw an average of about 75 books a year, the highest rate of any university library in Japan (and high even for the United States). A professional staff directed by an American-trained chief librarian, the only woman to hold such a post in Japan, provides efficient library services equaling those of any modern university library.

JUNIOR COLLEGES

The junior college was fashioned on the American model during the occupation. Called *tanki daigaku* (literally, "short-course universities"), they were originally looked on as upstarts by the old established 4-year universities, and have continued to suffer with regard to status and support. It was not until 1964 that they were officially recognized in a supplementary provision to the School Education Law as permanent institutions (appendix C, p. 363).

In 1972 there were 491 junior colleges serving 287,974 students (table 1, p. 107). Of these, 432 (86 percent) were private, while only 24 (5 percent) were national and 44 (9 percent) were local (under prefectural or municipal auspices).

These institutions provide senior high school graduates with 2- or 3-year schooling in general cultural, vocational, or semiprofessional fields. About 33 percent of all junior college students specialize in humanities or social sciences, 31 percent in home economics, 18 percent in teacher training, and less than 10 percent in technological fields—an area increasingly dominated at this level by the technical colleges established since 1962.

A major characteristic of junior colleges is that most of their students (84 percent) are women, reflecting the status of women in Japanese society: the professional life of the country is still largely in the hands of men, while women are primarily oriented to marriage and homemaking. The junior college is considered sufficient preparation for this role, and in fact any higher education beyond junior college is still widely held to be poor preparation for marriage.

Another characteristic of junior colleges is their small size. In 1972 the average institutional enrollment was slightly less than 600, and the ratio of full-time teachers to students was 1 to 19.

The junior college graduate receives a certificate, not a degree. To earn the 2-year certificate a student must complete a course of 62 credits, of which 12 must be in general education (humanities and natural and social science), 2 in physical education, 24 in the major (area of specialization), and 24 in electives. The 3-year course consists of 93 credits, including 18 in general education, 3 in physical education, 26 in the major, and 36 in electives.

Rather than offering a broad program with many majors, the typical junior college can only afford to offer one or two majors besides the general education requirement. For example, the Hiroshima Public Agricultural Junior College offers only an agriculture major. One-third of the graduates return to the farms, and the remainder go into related agricultural fields. Another institution, the Aichi Prefectural Junior College, offers women a 3-year program in education for kindergarten teachers, with other majors in Japanese and in English literature. Some private junior colleges have specialized in such fields as auto mechanics, electronics, photography, or food processing.

Tuition ranges were from 28,800 yen ($102.85) in the 24 national junior colleges to 50,000 yen ($178.50) in the locally supported public institutions, to an average of 83,294 yen ($297.50) in the relatively high-cost private institutions. The recent urgent demand for middle-level technicians has led the Government to give some financial aid to the private junior colleges that offer technical programs.

Although credits earned at junior colleges are theoretically applicable toward a degree program, the junior college functions in practice primarily as a terminal institution. Transfer of graduates to degree-granting universities is difficult, as these latter institutions require rigorous entrance examinations of all prospective transfer students, and few can pass them. Nevertheless, for students from poorer families especially, the junior colleges provide an opportunity to prepare for some upward mobility, and as such they constitute a significant part of the total educational system.

SUMMARY

Higher education in Japan has provided the Nation with modern leaders of Government and industry; hence, the university may share the credit—along with other institutions—for Japan's miraculous rate of economic growth and modernization. However, the university system suffers from serious inflexibility and inefficiency, and is badly in need of a complete reorganization. The OECD survey team noted the following deficiencies:

> Student curricula and careers . . . are too regimented, internal university organization is too compartmentalized, inter-university relations are too restricted, and the informal, but very real hierarchic ranking of universities and their graduates [is] much too rigid to meet the needs of Japan's complex and rapidly changing technology or its egalitarian, diverse, and open society.[58]

The need for flexibility is illustrated by the highly restrictive controls that the Ministry of Education maintains over university expansion into new programs, courses, and faculties, at a time when the demand for scientific and technical knowledge is exploding. Furthermore, the traditional emphasis of the universities on narrow specialization is unsuitable in training for professional careers in administration and industry, since their problems are broader than the boundaries of any one discipline. It is also undesirable in a democracy to allow elitism to develop in specialized fields and to permit one field to be isolated from another, and one university from another. Institutions such as the experimental Tsukuba University, open to scholars of all surrounding universities and from overseas, will greatly enhance the quality of the total scientific product. In a society of increasing affluence such as exists in Japan, there will be constantly rising demand for higher education, and the system must be flexible enough to meet the many needs of its ever-expanding clientele.

Among the most pressing problems in Japanese higher education, as identified by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in its study Higher Education in Nine Countries, were (1) the goal of almost all young people to seek a university education simply as a path to a preferred job; (2) the financial burden on parents and society's waste of time and money in preparing youth to pass the entrance examination to the university; and (3) the overcrowding of facilities, which in turn results in lack of personal contact between students and teachers, excessive faculty teaching loads, and low-quality instruction.

The Commission noted an even more fundamental weakness in the present university establishment—it has yet to accept the liberal goals of the new-system university worked out as part of the postwar educational reforms, especially those providing for general education for all undergraduates and calling for expansion of graduate training and research. In sum, the several functions of a university have not been sufficiently integrated.

The inadequate funding of private universities by Government and foundations, which has led to inadequate libraries and laboratory facilities and high costs to students, has also handicapped higher education in general. Nor are these shortcomings yet compensated for by adequate student financial aid programs provided by the quasi-governmental Japan Scholarship Foundation.

The structural rigidity of higher education, its inbred character, its domination by chairs and faculties, its lack of interchange between universities and with industries and other segments of society—all stand in the way of reform, innovation, and responsiveness to national needs. The planners of the new Tsukuba University are fully aware of these faults and are attempting to remedy them in designing the new structure, but it will almost certainly be years before the entrenched academic circles with their quasi-feudal traditions give in to change.

This is not to say that the present structure has totally failed. Japanese higher education has outstanding strengths—for example, broad access to university education for youth from nearly all classes, and quality education in its better schools. Despite inadequate public support for research, good basic research is being done, as witnessed by the work of recent Nobel Prize winners Dr. Hideki Yukawa, Dr. Shinichiro Tomonaga, and Dr. Leo Esaki. Finally, with academic freedom guaranteed in the Constitution, the universities in Japan offer broader freedom to teach and to learn than exists in many Western nations with a long tradition of free institutions.[80]

A recent development in the higher education field that should be noted here is the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to build the headquarters of the United Nations University in Japan. This university will not have formal classes or grant degrees, but will be a sort of international "think tank" for the study of world problems. Initially, the major areas for study and research will be world hunger, human and social development, and the management and use of natural resources. Japan won out over several nations in its bid for the university by pledging $100 million toward the endowment of $400 million necessary to launch the venture. Japan will also pay half the yearly operating expenses and the entire cost of land and buildings. This pledge is evidence of Japan's willingness to assume a leadership role in internationally oriented higher education.

NOTES

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[3] Donald Keene, "At a Japanese University," *The Twentieth Century* (London), vol. 159 (March 1956), p. 244.

[4] *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. 5 (December 1967), pp. 300–01. Hereafter this publication is referred to as JSPIJ.

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[7] *Asahi Evening News*, July 21, 1969.

[8] *Asahi Evening News*, Feb. 12, 1969.

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[10] Kan'ichi Fukuda, "A Professor's Views on University Education: The Need for a Democratic Policy," *JSPIJ*, loc. cit., p. 207.

[11] Ministry of Education, *Basic Guidelines*, loc. cit., p. 119.

[12] Hiroshi Orihara, "Test Hell and Alienation, A Study of Tokyo University Freshmen," *JSPIJ*, loc. cit., p. 229.

[13] Ibid., p. 224.

[14] Ibid., p. 232.

[15] Ibid., pp. 237–40.

[16] *Japan Times*, May 25, 1970.

[17] "The Asahi Shimbun Public Opinion Surveys," *Japan Quarterly*, vol. 16 (April–June 1969), pp. 158–62.

[18] *Japan Times*, Mar. 11, 1969.

[19] "The Asahi Shimbun Public Opinion Surveys," loc. cit., pp. 158–62.

[20] Japan Cabinet Research Office, "Recent Situation in Student Attitudes—Life and Opinions Since the Security Treaty Struggles: August 1964," trans. in *U.S. Information Service Report* (Tokyo, U.S. Embassy, Sept. 14, 1964). Mimeographed.

[21] Jun Eto, "The Japanese University: Myths and Ideals," *JSPIJ*, loc. cit., 187.

[22] Letters to the Editor, *Asahi Evening News*, Apr. 11, 1966.

[23] Ibid.

[24] John E. Blewett, S. J., ed., *Higher Education in Postwar Japan, the Ministry of Education's 1964 White Paper* (Tokyo, Sophia University Press, 1965), p. 109.

[25] Ibid., pp. 110–11.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Central Council for Education, "Report of 1963," as quoted in Blewett, op. cit., p. 111.

[28] A special school of *karate* (self-defense) which was originated in the Shorinji Zen Temple in Kyoto.

[29] *Tokyo Daigaku Shimbun (Tokyo University Newspaper)*, Feb. 17, 1960.

[30] Interview with Mr. Miyamoto of the Ministry of Education, Dec. 8, 1973.

[31] Figures supplied in an interview between the author and Mr. Akiyama, an official of the Japan Scholarship Foundation, on Dec. 8, 1973. The stipends had been

increased in 1971, but they are still woefully inadequate to cover complete costs of an education. (Dollar figures are according to late 1973 exchange rate of 280 yen to the dollar.)

[32] Nihon Ikuekai (Japanese Scholarship Foundation), *Nihon Ikuekai* (Tokyo, the Foundation, 1973), p. 10.

[33] Tetsuya Kobayashi, *General Education for Scientists and Engineers in the United States of America and Japan* (Ann Arbor, Mich., The University of Michigan School of Education, 1965), p. 280.

[34] *Kongo Ni Okeru Gakko Kyoiku No Sogoteki No Kakuju Seibi No Tame No Kihonteki Shisaku Ni Tsuite (Basic Guidelines for the Development of an Integrated Educational System Suited for the Future),* (Tokyo, Central Council for Education, 1971), p. 35. The Japanese-language official version of the final report of the CCE.

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[36] Editorial, *Mainichi,* Oct. 2, 1956.

[37] Minoru Shimosaka, "Technical Education in Technical Colleges," in Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *Present State of Technical and Technological Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Commission, 1972), p. 78–9.

[38] Kan'ichi Fukuda, *JSPIJ,* loc. cit., p. 201.

[39] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Mombu Tokei Yoran* (Handbook of Educational Statistics, 1973), (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1973), p. 53.

[40] Ibid., p. 52.

[41] Michiya Shimbori, "Graduate Schools in Japan," *Education in Japan—Journal for Overseas,* vol. 2 (1967), p. 65.

[42] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Mombu Tokei Yoran (Handbook of Educational Statistics. 1969),* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1969), p. 92.

[43] National Science Foundation, Office of Scientific Personnel, *Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities, 1958–66* (Washington, National Academy of Sciences, 1967), pp. 124–25.

[44] *Japan Times,* Dec. 21, 1967.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] *Asahi Evening News,* Dec. 14, 1967.

[48] *Asahi Evening News,* Apr. 10, 1969.

[49] "The Asahi Shimbun Public Opinion Surveys," op. cit., p. 168.

[50] *JSPIJ,* loc. cit., p. 302.

[51] Hiroo Suzuki, *Gakusei Undo (The Student Movement),* (Tokyo, Fukumura Publishing Company, 1968), p. 150.

[52] *Japan Times Weekly,* Oct. 6, 1973.

[53] *Newsweek Magazine,* Sept. 17, 1973.

[54] *Japan Times Weekly,* loc. cit.

[55] Hideo Kishimoto, *"Hakai to Kensetsu"* ("Destroy and Rebuild"), *Toshokan no Mado (Window of the Library),* (Tokyo, University Library Bulletin), vol. 3 (March 1964), p. 16.

[56] Ibid. Most American libraries, he discovered, were centralized, but Harvard with its old collections, such as the Harvard-Yenching Library, has worked out a cooperative system among the various departmental units.

[57] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Statistics, 1973,* op. cit., p. 49.

[58] *Mainichi,* Nov. 6, 1970.

[59] Barbara Burn et al., *Higher Education in Nine Countries* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), pp. 262–66.

PART III: MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS

CHAPTER 1
TEACHER STATUS, POWER, AND PREPARATION

TEACHER STATUS

The power of Japanese teachers is derived largely from their status, the standing that they have in the eyes of the public. Such status is evidenced by appreciation of the importance of their function and their competence in performing it, by their remuneration, and by their working conditions.

The Public Attitude Toward Teachers

As indicated earlier, learning in traditional Japan was deeply honored, and teachers were held in high esteem. Jinsai Ito (1627-1705), a great Confucian, said, "To honor the teacher is a means of honoring the Way. Therefore the teachers shall have the justice which reigns between ruler and subject and the parental love of a father for his child."[1] Teaching was a "sacred calling," and the teacher was accorded lifelong respect by his students.

The first modern teachers were mostly ex-Samurai, confident, self-reliant, and born to command. They disdained money, and were not concerned about the low salaries. Instruction was simply an appropriate leadership role befitting their status. They dominated education from the 1870's to the 1890's, when they were gradually replaced by sons of farmers and other common people who were attracted to teaching as a means of social mobility. Eventually in Japan's expanding capitalistic society, teaching came to be looked upon as a highly honorable way to earn a living. Accordingly, salaries were increased and it was finally recognized as a modern profession by World War I.

Teachers' view of their profession.—In recent years, the Japan Teachers Union (JTU) has stubbornly insisted that teachers are educational laborers, and that teaching is no longer a "sacred calling." In its Code of Ethics (see appendix H, par. VIII, p. 381), the JTU repeatedly refers to teachers as laborers, using a Japanese word denoting both skilled and unskilled workers. This practice has jarred the sensibilities of the older generation, which grew up with the attitude that the teacher was someone superior who took a personal responsibility for each student.

Dr. Tomitaro Karasawa, an historian of teachers, points out that *teachers' values regarding teaching have changed. They will no longer* accept "noble poverty"; they realize that, in this materialistic world, status depends on salary, and they will fight for an adequate wage. He classified Japanese teachers as (1) the "sacred calling type," willing to sacrifice in order to teach—an accepting person who considers it beneath him to demand a better salary; or (2) the aggressive "teachers' union type," who unites with other laborers in a strong union movement and demands fair treatment in wages, hours, and conditions of work; or (3) the "urban type," who sees himself as a salaried man (*sarariman*) and is more concerned with his personal comfort than with students or union activities. The ideal teacher, and one frequently encountered, is a combination of categories 1 and 2; i.e., a high-minded professional who is at the same time concerned with both the best interests of his students and his own rights to a decent living.[2]

It is interesting to note that local teachers' unions warn of the temptations involved in the insistence on more and more of the material things of life. They have campaigned against what they call "the three to's": *arbaito* (moonlighting, from the German *arbeit,* work), *presento* (presents), and *ribeto* (rebates). Gift giving, especially by parents to teachers of preferred schools to get their boys and girls in "by the back door," and rebates, from publishers for adopting a supplementary book or from tradesmen supplying the school with educational equipment, are frequently exposed in the newspapers. (In one case, two oversolicitous "education mamas" were fined more than $400 for having distributed $500 in bribes to teachers of an attached elementary school of the teachers college in Fukuoka for help in getting their children past the entrance examination.)

Parents' assessment of teachers' performance.—In a recent national survey of Japanese character, the polling agency found that the traditional parents' practice of defending the teacher's image to their children whenever he made mistakes is not as firm as it once was. Less than one-third of all parents still hold that the teacher is always right. More than one-half adopt the nontraditional attitude of admitting teachers' fallibility to their children and not trying to cover up for them. This latter position is increasing steadily.[3]

However, Government polls conducted in the last decade or so indicate that the public is generally satisfied with the performance of public school elementary and junior high teachers. In 1957, 68 percent of the respondents said they had confidence in public school teachers and would willingly trust their children to them. With regard to their academic ability and teaching techniques, 63 percent expressed general satisfaction, while only 13 percent were dissatisfied.[4] Five years later the same polling organization asked parents of junior high students around the Nation what items in the Government's education policy they would wish to have changed. The options included changes in curriculum, textbooks, and plant, as well as policies regarding teachers. Only 18 percent chose as the most pressing need the "improvement in the quality and ability of teachers."[5] When a group of junior high parents was asked to compare their own prewar teachers with those of their children, almost half said that whereas their teachers were severe and fear-inspiring, modern teachers were more like friends of their children. Some felt, however, that, for the children's sake, teachers *should* be more strict.

The higher the level of school in which they teach, the higher is the esteem accorded to teachers, with university professors at the very top of the prestige scale. Only when teachers engage in violent union activities do they lose public support. For example, they lose it when the Japan Teachers Union's strategy follows the classic "struggle tactics," engaging in demonstrations and strikes, and when members march in protest parades behind red flags, wearing head bands as did the feudal Samurai on their way to battle. Teachers thus attired during attendance at school board meetings have met with disapproval from traditionally oriented parents, who frowned on the behavior as ill-befitting a *sensei*.[6] There was also parental apprehension regarding the negative influence of this type of behavior upon their children, a fear that was exacerbated in some instances by the teachers' involvement of their students in sympathy strikes and *demos* (demonstrations). As a result parents protested, and PTA groups threatened to expel the radical teacher-members.

The special position of the homeroom teacher.—As their principal counselor, the homeroom teacher is the most important person to the students at the lower secondary level. His job is to guide the student into the highest educational path appropriate to his abilities. If he overrates the student's ability to perform on the entrance examination for a preferred school and the student fails, it is considered the teacher's mistake. If, on the other hand, he underestimates the student's ability and steers him to a second-rate school where he does unusually well on the exam, the teacher has also failed in his duty. He has not only condemned the student to an education that is less than the best, but to a career that is second best, since this is all that he will be qualified for. Thus, the teacher's personal responsibility is heavy; he is expected to be able to predict accurately the performance of each of his students. The burden on the teacher is further complicated by unrealistic parental expectations of their offspring, so that teacher-parent relations sometimes become a delicate matter.

For students not going on to senior high school, the homeroom teacher is responsible for job placement. He has the services of the local branch of the national employment office, but the responsibility for guidance rests with him. Guidance takes place not only in the classroom, but in visits to the student's home for consultation with both the parents and the child. Since the homeroom teacher has 37 students on the average, this task is weighty. Home visitation has, however, the advantage of informing the teacher of special problems such as poverty or illness. Parents and teachers are thus emotionally bound by their common concern for getting young people over the entrance examination hurdles, and the parents place heavy reliance on the teacher's judgment and guidance to achieve a successful result.[7] In reality, this represents a shifting of responsibility from home to school. Japanese parents see the responsibility for rearing children as pretty evenly divided, but they are always eager to have the school assume the larger role. The willing abdication of parental obligation to teachers reflects the status enjoyed by the latter.

Rank of teaching among occupations.—A strikingly high occupational rank for teachers was revealed in a 1955 survey by the Japan Sociological Society. Elementary teachers ranked seventh in prestige among 32 occupations, just below the civil engineer and above the Buddhist priest. University teachers were rated first on the scale, above doctors, Government officials, and business chiefs.[8]

Between 1955 and 1964, when the most recent survey (covering 29 occupations) was made, the rank of both university professors and elementary school teachers slipped. University professors dropped from first to third, following medical doctors and prefectural governors, in that order. A professor was, however, still ranked ahead of a research scholar in physics. In the same survey, the elementary school teacher dropped from 7th to 11th place—just below the airplane pilot, but above the section chief of a large company. (It is interesting to note that the prestige rank of both university professors and elementary school teachers in Japan is now exactly what it is in the United States; i.e., professors 3d, and elementary teachers 11th.)[9]

Salaries and Allowances

The most illuminating evidence of teacher status is their level of remuneration.

Civil servant status.—Public school teachers in Japan are classified as civil servants: those working in prefectural and local schools as "local public officials" and those working in national schools (universities and attached laboratory schools, elementary and secondary) as "national public officials." The latter are governed by the National Public Service Law. Since, however, their role as teachers is different from that of regular civil servants, they generally come under an additional Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Personnel.

Specific appointive authorities are responsible for disbursing teacher salaries: teachers in local and prefectural schools are paid by the prefectural board of education; and teachers in national schools are paid by the national Ministry of Education. The influence of the Ministry on all salaries is preponderant, however. Half of all salaries of local teachers are provided, as in prewar days, by the National Government and half by the Prefectures. Local salaries are based on the national schedule fixed by law for national public officials, and there is little opportunity for negotiation by teachers' organizations at the prefectural or local level. Consequently, remuneration varies little from place to place except for high-cost urban areas, such as Tokyo, where the scale is considerably higher than in other areas.

Salary scales.—There are four salary scales, determined by the level or type of school in which a teacher is employed. The school levels from the lowest to highest are (1) kindergarten-elementary-junior high, (2) senior high, (3) technical colleges, and (4) junior colleges and universities. At each of these four levels the salary scale is determined by the teacher's preparation and length of service.

A schedule of annual increments provides an automatic salary increase each year if the teacher attends to his duties diligently and is present the prescribed number of days. In addition, salary schedules in recent years have been augmented annually by 7 percent or more to make them commensurate with those in private industry. This increment is worked out by the National Personnel Authority (NPA) in negotiation with the Diet. The NPA is one of the world's most effective personnel agencies in protecting the salaries of Government employees, including teachers. The JTU and other public personnel unions have supported the NPA in asking that each year's increment be made retroactive to April, the beginning of the school (and fiscal) year. The Diet, however, refused to do this and established the effective date as October, when the annual consideration by the legislature is concluded.

Because teachers possess greater professional skill than other beginning employees in the regular Government service, their starting salaries are set about 10 percent higher. In April 1973, when the yen-dollar exchange rate was 280:1, the base monthly salaries for beginning national teachers—by educational attainment and school-employment level—were as follows:[10]

Teachers' educational attainment	*School-employment levels and base monthly salaries (280:1 yen-dollar rate) April 1973*			
	Kindergarten-elementary-junior high		*Senior high*	
	Yen	*$ equiv.*	*Yen*	*$ equiv.*
Junior college graduates	48,900	174.64	55,000	196.43
Bachelor's degree holders	58,100	207.50	58,100	207.50
Master's degree holders	66,100	236.07	66,400	237.14
Doctor's degree holders	77,300	276.07	78,000	278.57

Allowances.—In addition to base monthly salaries, teachers receive allowances for special items, according to a complicated system (table 13, p. 231). These allowances may add as much as 65 percent to a teacher's base pay.[11]

The most important allowance is a bonus, paid to all teachers (as well as to all other employees in government and private industry) 2 or 3 times a year. In total, it amounts to 4.8 times the base monthly salary. In 1973, it was paid in the following increments: 0.5 times the monthly salary in March, 1.7 times the monthly salary in June, and 2.6 times the monthly salary in December as a big year-end bonus. In other words, all teachers in effect received 16.8 months' salary for 12 months' work. Merchants and savings institutions customarily vie with each other for the bonus allotment. Often the money is spent on luxuries, but in times of inflation it may be used to pay accumulated bills. Usually, however, teachers deposit it in savings accounts. In any event, the bonus is built into the Japanese system and failure to provide it is viewed as cause for a protest or strike.

Bonuses and salaries are determined on the basis of a carefully researched evaluation of the current cost of living, carried out by the National Personnel Authority (NPA), which regulates the amount of compensation for all National Government employees, including teachers. The NPA holds hearings, in which labor and management testify, and finally decides on a formula for the basic salary and accompanying bonus. In the past few years, the Government has accepted the NPA's recommendations and presented them to the Diet as a part of the national budget. The salary may be raised from 4 percent to 8 percent across the board; the bonus, based on the salary, goes up correspondingly, generally amounting to between 4 and 5 months' salary. In the NPA's hearings and the Diet's debate there is some opportunity for modification, so that in the case of severe inflation the salary and bonus could be raised.

Long-established custom and regulations determine the times and proportion of the bonus doled out in the three increments. Variable items, like transportation and isolated area allowances, are decided on the basis of such factors as the least expensive carrier and the actual differential in costs and hardship, respectively.

Once the amount of the salary and bonus is decided on a national basis, the Prefectures accept the decision, since half of their budget for salaries and half of many other school costs come from the National Government, and it is incumbent on the Prefectures to match the National Government's figures.

To illustrate the complexity of the calculations necessary to determine an individual's salary, let us take the case of Mr. Ichiro Tanaka, a beginning teacher with a B.A. degree, newly married, and living in Kanagawa Prefecture from which he commutes to his elementary school in Tokyo.

Table 13.—Major allowances of public school teachers: 1973–74

Type	Eligible teachers	Formula[1]
	ANNUAL	
Bonus	All teachers	4.8% times the combined monthly base salary and family allowance
	MONTHLY	
Family allowance	Teachers with dependents	¥3,500 ($12.50) for spouse ¥1,000 ($ 3.57) for each of first 2 children ¥ 800 ($ 2.86) for each additional child ¥ 400 ($ 1.43) for each dependent over 60 years
Cost-of-living adjustment allowance	Teachers living in high-cost areas (not rural)	The combined monthly base salary and family allowance times: 8% for large cities 6% for medium cities 4% for small cities
Transportation allowance	All teachers	¥6,000 ($21.42) maximum ¥2,200 ($ 7.85) average
Housing allowance	Teachers having to rent	¥6,000 ($21.42) maximum ¥ 449 ($ 1.57) average[2]
Special incentive allowance	All teachers	4% times the monthly base salary
Administrative allowance	Principals and vice principals[3]	Monthly base salary times: 12% for principals 10% for vice principals
Specialty allowance	Teachers whose specialty is in unusual demand	Monthly base salary times 10%[4]
Special allowance to attract capable beginning teachers	Beginning teachers	Teachers of: *Science and technology* / *Other subjects* 1st year ¥2,500 ($8.93) ¥1,000 ($3.57) 2d year ¥2,000 ($7.14) ¥ 700 ($2.50) 3d year ¥1,500 ($5.36) ¥ 400 ($1.43) 4th year ¥1,000 ($3.57) ......
Isolated area allowance	Teachers serving in hardship posts[5]	Monthly base salary times 4% to 25%

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[1] Dollar equivalents have been calculated on the rate of 280 yen to the dollar, the exchange rate in early 1974.

[2] Especially if the teacher lives in the meager government housing, for which he pays only nominal rent.

[3] As compensation for such chores as preparing the teacher's efficiency reports.

[4] For a few senior high vocational teachers.

[5] Such as on a distant island or in an isolated and inaccessible location deep in the mountains, where teachers may be snowed in for a good part of the year.

Source: Ministry of Education, Personnel Section, Dec. 8, 1973.

Mr. Tanaka's base monthly salary is 58,100 yen ($207.50), and his family allowance for his wife is 3,500 yen ($12.50). The two total 61,600 yen ($220). Add 8 percent of this total for his cost-of-living allowance—4,928 yen ($17.60)—for a new total of 66,528 yen ($237.60). Then, add 2,200 yen ($7.85) for his transportation allowance; 440 yen ($1.57) for his housing allowance; 4 percent of his original base pay of 58,100 yen ($207.50)—2,324 yen ($8.30)—for his special teachers' incentive allowance; and 2,500 yen ($8.93) for his special allowance as a first-year science teacher. The total then becomes 73,992 yen ($264.25) per month, or 887,904 yen ($3,171.09) per year. Finally, add his bonus of 4.8 months' salary, which comes to 295,680 yen ($1,056); thus, his actual take-home pay is 1,183,584 yen or about $4,227 per year.

According to a survey made by the Miyagi Prefectural Teachers Union in February 1967, 93.5 percent of the teachers in that Prefecture felt that they were as inadequately paid as they had ever been. Only 6.5 percent reported that they had begun to enjoy a few comforts. Some 72 percent were in debt.[13]

The JTU's White Paper on Education in 1965 stated that, on the average, only one-third of the Nation's teachers live on their teacher's salary alone; another one-third supplement it with extra work, most commonly tutoring for entrance exams; and the remaining one-third depend on contributions from their wives' earnings or the income of other family members. Augmented by extras, a teacher's salary is sufficient for bare necessities, but insufficient for the "wholesome cultural living" promised by the new Constitution.

Employment Conditions

Hours and overtime pay.—The standard work week for teachers is 44 hours and they must remain at the school a minimum of 8 hours a day. Most spend much more time than this on the job, supervising club activities, student government, classroom cleaning, and school lunch; or collecting money for a variety of purposes—school lunches, class activities, library fees, vaccinations, standardized tests, and community chest.

The JTU's White Paper on Education in 1965 reported that three-fourths of the elementary schools and half of the junior high schools had no school clerks or business officers, and that 70 percent of the elementary schools and 75 percent of the junior high schools had no school nurses. In such schools, teachers must perform these functions, for which they are not adequately prepared, thus further depleting their energies. Clerical work and teachers' meetings take up an average of an additional 6 hours a week. As a result, the average number of overtime hours spent per week is 17 hours for teachers in elementary school, 12½ for those in junior high, and 12¾ for those in senior high school.[18]

An attempt was made to rectify this situation through a JTU request for overtime pay. The conservative government refused, on the grounds that teachers were not laborers and hence not eligible for overtime pay provided by the Labor Standards Act for "laborers." The case was taken to court by the JTU in several Prefectures, and a favorable verdict was obtained. As a result, in five Prefectures the prefectural personnel committees decided to grant teachers overtime pay.

However, the matter became a controversial national issue. Mr. Nakamura, then Minister of Education, prepared a budget that provided for overtime pay in the summer of 1967, only to be overruled on this provision by the powerful education committee of his own party on the grounds that teaching was a "sacred calling," and should not be subjected to labor-union type regulations. A *Mainichi* newspaper commentator concluded that the case demonstrated that the Ministry was subservient to a committee of the Conservative Party made up of 70 Diet members, including five former Ministers of Education.[14] The Government eventually compromised with an offer to increase salaries by an additional 4 percent per month. At first, the JTU rejected this as (1) not really compensating for the overtime work, which could then be expanded indefinitely without further pay; (2) denying teachers their just rights as laborers under the Labor Standards Act; and (3) not reducing the long workweek, which had been the basic reason for demanding overtime pay in the first place. The Government insisted on giving a 4-percent, across-the-board salary increase or nothing at all. In the end, the JTU reluctantly accepted it.

Teachers have little leisure. In rural areas they must organize and run youth clubs on their own time; in cities they are busy moonlighting in order to keep ahead of the rising cost of living. They have practically no vacation, since the summers are taken up with chaperoning student trips to the mountains or the seashore, tutoring, or planning and attending inservice courses required by the Ministry.

One English teacher from rural Yamaguchi Prefecture wrote the author:

> Though we are now in the summer vacation, I go to school every day to help the students prepare for their college entrance examinations, and after class . . . I meet with our students and their parents one by one at school—I am now planning an English teachers' training course with some staff members of Yamaguchi Board of Education. So I am very happy though I am busy.[15]

Leave.—Teachers receive generous leave benefits—officially authorized annual leave of about a month with full pay and sick leave up to 90 additional days, also with full pay. If their illness lasts more than 90 days, teachers either receive 50 percent of their salaries or (as is usual) choose "temporary retirement" with 80 percent. If teachers contract tuberculosis, they are granted 2 years' sick leave with full pay and free treatment in excellent prefectural hospitals.[16] Paid maternity leave of up to 12 weeks is also granted, with a legal requirement that a substitute teacher must be assigned during the absence. For these health provisions the teachers are partly indebted to the JTU, which lobbied vigorously for them and saw them incorporated successfully in the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Personnel.

The retirement system.—All public school teachers are members of the Local Public School Mutual Aid Association, which arranges for retirement, disability, and survivors pensions, as well as short-term allowances for illness and maternity leave. Private school teachers receive the same benefits through their mutual aid association.

There is no fixed mandatory retirement age for teachers, but retirement is possible as early as age 55. Most teachers at the elementary and secondary levels are encouraged to retire about the age of 57 or 58. In 1972 there was a movement to revise the law and require retirement at age 65, but at this writing it has not been enacted.

Retirement annuities are provided all public school teachers by the Public School Mutual Aid Association. During their period of service teachers make contributions to this annuity equivalent to 7.7 percent of their salaries. The Prefecture or municipality that employs the teacher also makes a contribution, equal to 9.45 percent of the teacher's salary. Retirement benefits amount to a minimum of 40 percent of the average annual salary for the last 3 years of service, if the teacher has served 20 years. If the length of service is longer, for each year of service beyond 20 years the retired teacher receives, in addition, 1.5 percent of the last 3 years' average up to a maximum of 70 percent of his or her last salary. In most cases, however, the pension is not enough to live on comfortably, so that retired teachers who are able to do so continue teaching in a private school or enter some other field. Well-known retired university professors are in demand in newer private colleges as teachers or, if they have served in a prestige institution, as presidents.

Hiring procedures.—The standard number of teachers for national schools in each Prefecture is fixed by the Ministry in Tokyo according to the National School Establishment Law. The number employed is controlled by national standards regarding class size, on the basis of which the number of teachers is determined. If the number of teachers hired does not exceed the quota set by Tokyo, the Ministry pays 50 percent of the salaries. If it does, then the Ministry refuses to pay its full share, so that if the Prefecture is poor the additional teachers may have to be dismissed. The JTU constantly complains that the system is so inflexible that it often fails to meet actual needs of the Prefectures for new teachers.[17] Within this framework, local schools select their teachers, and the prefectural board officially hires both prefectural and local teachers. The procedure is as follows: Each year the prefectural board of education gives a test to those qualified to teach. They are graded "A" to "D," and the "A's" and "B's" are put on a waiting list. The principal in search of a teacher goes over the list and selects, with the advice of the local board of education, a suitable candidate. The actual appointment is then made by the prefectural board, generally before April 1, when the school year begins.

Certification.—The certification process is very similar to that in the United States, except that Japanese regulations for certification are embodied in national laws. Prefectural boards of education grant teacher certificates for both public and private schools.

Certificates are classified as regular and emergency. Teachers holding regular certificates are qualified for full teaching duties, but those with emergency certificates can only be assistant teachers. Regular certificates are valid in all Prefectures and are good for life, whereas emergency certificates are honored for only 3 years and only in the Prefecture issuing them. Permanent tenure for regular holders is now granted afer 6 months' successful teaching, but on the advice of the Central Council for Education the Government is considering extending the probation period to 1 year.

Certificates for kindergarten and elementary schools are for all subjects; those for junior and senior high schools are for specified subject areas. Regular certificates for kindergarten, elementary, and secondary levels are divided into two classes—first and second. First-class certificates for kindergarten, elementary, and junior high school require graduation from a university or the equivalent; second-class certificates for these levels require graduation only from a junior college. The holder of a second-class certificate can qualify for a first-class certificate by attending extension classes, correspondence courses, or summer school. First-class certificates in senior high schools require (1) the master's degree, (2) 15 hours of additional course work beyond the bachelor's degree and 3 years of experience, or (3) 15 years of experience in teaching major subjects. Second-class certificates for this level require the bachelor's degree only; and emergency certificates may be obtained by junior college graduates.

Public school principals or teacher consultants must possess the first-class teacher certificate, but they are not required to hold a special administrative credential. (This requirement, introduced during the occupation, was abandoned in 1954.) In one above-average senior high school in the mountains of Aichi Prefecture, the principal alone had a first-class teacher certificate. Other faculty members with second-class certificates had the requisite 3 years of experience to move up to first class, but felt they could not afford the time to take the extra 15 additional hours of college credit required. Since no salary increase is involved and the advantage lies only in terms of a possible promotion to a principalship, many qualified teachers do not consider it worth the trouble to apply for first-class certification.

Basic to certification is the college degree, indicating that the candidate has completed the three major requirements of the teacher-education program—general education, specialization in the teaching major and minor, and professional education courses.

An ever-increasing proportion of teachers are graduates of 4-year colleges and are fully qualified to teach at their particular level. In 1969 only 1.7 percent of elementary teachers, 0.4 percent of junior high teachers, and 1.8 percent of senior high teachers lacked academic qualifications, according to the Ministry's "White Paper on Education" published in 1970.[18] This is a record for Asia, and, compares favorably with the situation in many countries in other areas of the world.

Teachers are not as widely mobile as in the United States, but elementary and junior high teachers are transferred rather frequently—generally within the same Prefecture. Senior high teachers are sometimes exchanged between Prefectures, if they initiate a transfer, but they move less often than those in the lower grades. University teachers seldom move. Transfer to distant schools is sometimes used as punishment by boards of education for union activism, and is the basis for frequent court cases.

Promotion for elementary and junior high teachers generally comes in the form of appointment as vice principal, principal, or teacher consultant. The age of promotion to principalship is generally 40 or over.

Special certification was formerly required for superintendents, principals, and supervisors, but in 1954 an amendment of the relevant law abolished all such requirements, permitting laymen or ordinary officials to serve as educational administrators, simply on the basis of experience. (The superintendency is considered a good job for a retired high school principal.) According to the late Mr. Toshio Kumura, a lifelong teacher-educator, "The [change] not only [served] to deny that these professions were specialized, but also resulted in discouraging teachers from inservice training in general," since such training did little to enhance their chances of getting appointed to an administrative post.[19] Hiroshima University School of Education has been researching the issue of the professional vs. the nonprofessional administrator, in an effort to clarify the relative merits of each approach.[20]

Women teachers.—Another important measure of teacher status is the treatment of women teachers. In traditional Japanese society, men were dominant and most teachers were men. In recent years, as Japan has become more prosperous, many men have left teaching for better paying jobs and at the same time women, having had a greater opportunity for higher education, are moving into teaching. As of 1969-70 more than half the teachers in elementary schools and one-fourth of those in junior high schools were women.[21]

Women have not been able to gain entry very easily into the administrative level. Channels of promotion favor men. Head teachers are generally males, and candidates for principal and vice principal are chosen from among the head teachers, effectively impeding upward movement of women. Less than 1 percent of the principals of elementary schools are women. An informal newspaper survey of female teachers and administrators found that they were reluctant, even if invited, to take the test for principalship, for the job requires, besides greater responsibility, longer hours, which could interfere with their family duties. Furthermore, as one female principal pointed out, it is still difficult for the Japanese male to take orders from a woman. Women principals feel they have to accede to the male teachers' wishes and this does not make for good relations with the female teachers.[22]

Women teachers earn the same salaries and are subject to the same working conditions as men. There are minor customary discriminations, such as the expectation that female teachers will assume the role of hostess at the school and serve tea to visitors and to the principal. This, however, is the normal female role in Japanese society. In recent years, women teachers have become more assertive. When it comes to a voice in faculty and union meetings, or inservice training sessions, the women usually participate almost equally with men. The older male teachers, accustomed to the subservient woman teacher of the past, frequently take exception to the modern young woman teacher as being too direct in her ways.[23]

The JTU won for female teachers excellent maternity leave provisions. They have up to 12 weeks before and after the birth of their child, together with 1 month's salary for hospital fees. The mother may also have at least 30 minutes break (on school time) twice a day for nursing her baby until it is 1 year old, or she can have a nursing allowance of 4,000 yen ($14.29) and 6,000 yen ($21.43) for supplementary expenses. Also, on request, all women teachers may have monthly health leave of 1 day or 2 days with pay; this is not counted against their regular sick leave.

Rural areas still dismiss women teachers first in times of depression, or urge them to retire early in order to absorb all the new graduates of local teacher-training institutions. In 1962 the boards of education of 13 Prefectures asked married women over 45 to retire. This type of discrimination is less in evidence in urban areas where the problem of oversupply of new graduates is not as acute.

TEACHER POWER: THE JAPAN TEACHERS UNION

Development

Teachers' unions were established immediately after the war, at a time of great economic stringency. They were a leftwing protest against impossibly low salaries and the apparent inability of the Government to do anything about them. From the beginning the union movement contained two rival groups—Communists and Socialists. Both, however, saw the Ministry of Education as "management," from which they, as "labor," had to force concessions. When they merged in 1947 into the Nikkyoso—an abbreviation of the Japanese for "The Japanese Education Personnel

Union," now known as the Japan Teachers Union (JTU)—the moderates won most of the leadership posts, but a few well-known Communists also were elected. The existence of some radical extremists at the headquarters gave rise to the image of the Union as a "red-headed crane"—the body of rank-and-file teachers being "white," while the head was "red."

Actually this was a misconception, for the leaders most of the time have carefully identified themselves as Socialists, rather than Communists; in testimony during the 1960's before the International Labor Organization (ILO), furthermore, the Ministry representative stated that almost all of the JTU's executive members belonged to the Japan Socialist Party.[24] The Ministry representative conceded that the Union's aims were "raising the economic, social, and political status of the union members, democratizing education and study and constructing a cultural State." Among the activities to achieve these aims, as set forth in article 7 of the Union rules, were "(1) maintenance and improvement of the treatment and working conditions of educational personnel, (2) the democratization of academic study and research, and (3) the construction of democratic education." [25] At the same time, the Ministry spokesman contended that the Union had "strong political tendencies and aimed at establishing the standards for the curriculum itself irrespective of laws and regulations . . . ." It complained quite correctly, in fact, that the Union criticized and sometimes obstructed educational policy.[26]

The Government and the Union have quarreled constantly and bitterly. (Pt. 1, ch. 4, outlines their relationship since independence.) Government policies immediately arouse Union opposition, and vice versa. The continuous battle of the giants in the educational world has been likened to the grand championship of *sumo* wrestlers.

During the occupation, the JTU endorsed the recommendations of the Report of the U.S. Education Mission and cooperated with the Government as well as occupation authorities on matters of common concern, such as reeducating teachers, raising teacher status, and improving teaching conditions. But in the days after the postwar purge of the teaching force, when the matter of certification of thousands of unprepared and uncertificated teachers became an issue, most teachers joined the Union. At that time, the JTU opposed the Government and occupation effort to restore and maintain high standards for teacher preparation and qualification. The Union insisted on planning its own reeducation program for teachers, and selecting its own leadership in instruction. Its purpose was to change the goals of the program from professional to political, a purpose which the Government and occupation, fearing the intrusion of communism, would not permit. Relations between the occupation and the Union grew more distant as the occupation progressed. But it was only when the occupation was over, and the conservative government began to reverse some of the educational reforms, that the JTU adopted the entire reform program as its own and became the principal pressure group defending it against what the Union has seen as the Ministry's effort to modify the reforms.

The main procedural issue at stake has always been the Union's use of the strike. The occupation protested that this was not the way to solve educational problems, but teachers' strikes continued. When many Government unions used the strike as a weapon, Gen. MacArthur sent a note to the Prime Minister requesting that, as an emergency measure, Government employees be denied the rights to collective bargaining and to strike. The Cabinet seized on the occupation fiat as authority for a get-tough policy with Government unions, completely banning strikes; the result was a National Public Service Law in 1948 denying civil servants the right to strike. The JTU and other unions of Government employees who were considered civil servants were thus denied the privileges of the new postwar labor legislation. In 1950, however, when the Local Public Service Law was revised, teachers were recognized as *local* rather than national civil servants (the JTU's national headquarters accordingly ceased legally to be a labor union), and prefectural and local unions were guaranteed the right to organize and negotiate. Article 55 of the revised law said that they could negotiate with their respective local public bodies; i.e., prefectural and municipal school boards, concerning salaries, hours, and working conditions, but such negotiations could not lead to a collective bargaining agreement, nor could they strike.

Local negotiation, limited to be sure, was legal; national negotiation was not. The Ministry of Education argued that local teachers were subject to the authority of prefectural governments and local school boards and that any negotiation should take place at the local level, not in Tokyo where neither the Union nor the Minister had jurisdiction. Successive ministers therefore refused flatly even to meet with national JTU leaders. From their viewpoint, they were justified in refusing in view of the earlier rudeness of Union representatives when communication lines were still open. The Minister had a telling argument when he pointed out that one of the main reforms of the postwar period was decentralization of Ministry power over education; thus he felt he had no other choice—local decisions had to govern.

The JTU eventually appealed the issue to the ILO, which sent a commission to investigate freedom of association in Japan. Mr. Miyanohara, then JTU's chairman, contended before the commission that the Government's plea that teachers were local public servants whose wages and hours were fixed by prefectural laws was a subterfuge to avoid bargaining at the national level. He cited a 1964 order of the Minister fixing the number of teaching personnel and stating that the Government would not share in paying the salaries of teachers appointed beyond that number.[27] The commission ruled in 1965 that if the Central Government in fact determined the number, status, and salaries of local public school teachers it should, accordingly, negotiate with the national representatives of the teachers, the leaders of the JTU.

The Ministry rejected the ruling on the grounds that the Central Government was responsible for maintaining and unifying the standards of compulsory education and that therefore the contents of education had to be decided at the national level to help equalize them throughout the country. In order to maintain minimum standards, argued the Ministry, it was necessary for the National Government to assume responsibility for half the teachers' salaries, since some poor localities could not afford the full expense. Determining the number of teachers the Ministry would subsidize was not intended to deny local autonomy; each Prefecture could still decide independently how many teachers it would hire.[28] To this, the JTU's rejoinder was that if the wages and personnel strength of teachers were decided nationally, local decisions were a mere formality. Therefore, if the teachers were to be represented at all in the determination of their wages and working conditions, their bargaining agent had to be the officials of the national headquarters of the JTU, while the Government's agent had to be the Minister of Education. The Minister ended the argument by simply refusing to meet with JTU officials.

The position of the ILO's commission was essentially that the Government had to decide, one way or another, whether it preferred central or local negotiation on the problems of teachers' employment conditions. If it opted for central negotiation, it would have to meet nationally with JTU officials; if it chose local negotiation, "it [would] be necessary for it to give the local authorities real freedom to negotiate." [29] The Prime Minister agreed to talks with JTU leaders, but up to 1971 the logical negotiator, the Minister of Education, refused. On August 10, 1971, in an address to the 20th Assembly of the World Conference of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), Mr. Motofuji Makieda, the new General Secretary of the JTU, announced that the Minister had finally agreed to confer with him. By 1973, despite continuing antagonism, the General Secretary and the Minister were discussing teachers' salaries, and agreement between them averted a nationwide strike.

Although its legal right to speak for the teachers remains somewhat cloudy, the headquarters of the JTU has all the characteristics of a labor union. It was instrumental in organizing the General Council of Trade Unions, *Sohyo,* in which it has a major voice. It also sends representatives to international meetings, both in the free world and Communist world, where it is recognized as a spokesman for Japan's teachers. In 1971, the Union chairman, Mr. Miyanohara, was on the executive committee of the WCOTP, the free world's leading teacher organization. He is known in the West, as in Japan, as a moderate.

Organization

Like many Japanese institutions, the JTU is highly centralized. The national headquarters occupies an old brick building in Tokyo, formerly the location of the prewar Imperial Education Association offices. Here a central executive committee of 66 full-time members meets and plans policy, which must be approved by delegates in their national convention. Below the national level, the JTU is organized into nine regional blocs, from Hokkaido to Kyushu. Each bloc holds its own conferences. Blocs are divided into prefectural unions, which have their own headquarters and "negotiate" with the prefectural school boards. Below the prefectural unions there are local branches, which negotiate with the city school boards. Finally at the bottom of the pyramid are the local chapters, which usually include the majority of the teachers in a school. The high school union, which has broken away from the regular JTU, has two factions: the larger is more moderate and closely related to the regular JTU, while the smaller is a radical group that opposes the JTU.

Since the JTU is a federation of prefectural unions, which alone may negotiate with school boards and officials, the real power resides in the prefectural unions, which often ignore orders from Tokyo and try to adapt policy to their special requirements. There is thus intraunion competition, with the national headquarters trying to hammer out unified action plans and the prefectural union insisting on acting according to its own best interests. National Union officials attempt to keep prefectural and local unions in line by sending down traveling "fact-finding" teams. Local and prefectural branches of the Union make their wishes known to Tokyo by sending representatives to the National Conference (which meets each May), to the Central Committee (which meets three times a year and carries out the mandate of the National Conference), and to the Executive Committee (which comprises one representative of each prefectural union and one each from the nine departments at the JTU's headquarters).

Membership in the JTU is open to all teachers from kindergarten to university, but according to Union figures the overall national body is composed mainly of 90 percent of the elementary and 40 percent of the junior high school teachers, most of whom are from public rather than private schools. As noted previously, high school teachers have their own union. Some university teachers from national schools are members, but their influence is insignificant. They serve mostly as advisors and speakers at national conventions. In total, more than half of the Nation's public school teachers belong—a membership that fluctuates between 500,000 and 600,000. An individual joining a local automatically becomes a member of the national organization, but he does not directly participate in its deliberations and governance.

Pressure is brought on the teacher from both sides. The JTU's officers reporting to the ILO's commission charged that in many places teachers were hired only on condition that they would not join the Union, but would instead join a Ministry-sponsored organization, like the Japan Federation of Teachers, which had only 87,000 members in 1970.[30] But, added the JTU's officials, after their 6 months' probation is finished, "we see many of the new ones coming in to join us." Most teachers, even though they are moderates and not inclined to be political, join the JTU to have a defender in matters of salaries and teachers' rights and to curb the power of the Ministry. An American anthropologist-educator, in an in-depth study of a junior high school north of Tokyo, observed that the—

> . . . single most pervasive opinion expressed by teachers in private interviews . . . was the idea that it is very important to have a powerful national teachers' union which will be able to counter . . . the Ministry of Education's power in the control of public education.[31]

Teachers who disagree with Union policies and want to withdraw from membership find it difficult to do so because of pressures from fellow teachers. As one older teacher put it: "I really wanted to escape from the union, but I have not been able to do it. . . . Of 300 [local teachers] none have [sic] left the JTU. . . . If one leaves the union, he gives the feeling of being non-cooperative, non-harmonious." [32] Some locals, however, have left the fold in disagreement over headquarters policy. The local teacher is thus torn in his loyalties. Half his salary is paid by the National Government, and the Ministry through its local representatives constantly urges him to leave the JTU. In many small provincial areas, the local authorities disapprove of his belonging to a "leftist" organization. If he joins the JTU, he may find himself transferred to some isolated place or denied special privileges like attending the Science Education Center seminars. All these pressures were charged in the ILO's hearings, but denied by Ministry representatives.[33] In this situation, some teachers are quitting, and others are reluctant to be activists any more. But usually, according to a Union spokesman, as many as 60 percent of the membership are still willing to participate in demonstrations and "strikes."

Programs

JTU's programs may be divided into those that are economic, professional, political, and educational. *Economic* programs concern improvement of wages, hours, working conditions, and medical and similar benefits. *Professional* programs include "struggles" against the Ministry's moves toward recentralizing its power, but in recent years have stressed improving teacher performance through conferences reporting individual research. *Political* activities, often inspired by left-wing members, have led the JTU to stress international issues (e.g., resistance to the United States-Japan Security Pact) and national issues (e.g., opposition to the University Normalization Law). *Educational* programs include advocating reduction of class size and allocation of more money for education that provides equal opportunity for all to enter senior high schools.

Economic.—The JTU has brought unremitting pressure on the employing authorities, both national and local, to raise teachers' salaries. It has backed its prefectural branches in salary demands, and they have won many increases. It has lobbied in the Diet for higher wage levels through friendly socialist and communist party members, as well as through its own teacher-legislators. And it has publicized its economic demands through the Nation's press.

In Japan the civil servant has a remarkable ally in the National Personnel Authority, a humane and nonpolitical agency at the highest governmental level. According to article 28 of the National Public Service Law, this agency must recommend to the Diet and Cabinet upward revisions in the public employees' salary schedule whenever it discovers that the cost of living and competing salaries in private companies require an increase of more than 5 percent. The JTU has enthusiastically cooperated with the NPA and does some of the spadework on researching cost-of-living indexes justifying raises in teachers' salaries. Like many other agencies, the JTU meets frequently with the National Personnel Authority (NPA) and argues for increases. It is never fully satisfied with the NPA's recommendations, but supports them strongly when they are presented to the Diet. The Government realizes that increases are inevitable, but tries to bargain for a lower rate. Since 1966, the JTU has staged an annual nationwide "teacher demonstration" (which it carefully refrains from calling a strike) to make its support for the NPA's recommendations known. The Government has regularly granted the NPA's formula for pay raises, which range from 7 percent to 12 percent annually. With Government help (since the NPA is appointed by the Cabinet), the JTU does see some of its economic aims achieved, and continues to participate, even though indirectly, in fulfilling them.

Professional.—From the beginning, professional growth has been recognized as an important objective, but during most of the postwar years economic betterment has been of such overriding importance to teachers that there was little time for study and research. In order to revive its sagging public image, the JTU in 1950 decided to stress professional growth. It opened an annual Assembly for the Study of Education where research conducted by its members could be reported and discussed. The radicals were initially successful in diverting much of the "research" to their own "peace education"—propaganda for the U.S.S.R. and against the United States—but the annual meetings have in the past few years produced some solid action research on the practical problems of teachers. Interest in such research is shown by the annual attendance at assemblies of more than 10,000 teachers. Prof. Michio Nagai, an American-trained sociologist who has participated in these assemblies, reports that "there are in Japan at present no more extensive or thorough training programs for active teachers than the various study seminars of the JTU."[34]

Another JTU research organ is the People's Education Research Institute, headed until his recent death by an eminent liberal educator and professor of Tokyo University, Dr. Seiya Munakata. It concerns itself with problems ranging "from educational administration and finance to educational practices . . . such as that of oversized classes on the one hand and that of moral education on the other."[85]

Most prefectual JTU offices also sponsor an annual meeting for reporting research done during the previous year. These meetings often attract a thousand or more enthusiastic local elementary and junior high school teachers. One conference, in a Prefecture north of Tokyo, was held on the campus of the prefectural university's School of Education. Although it was sponsored by the Union, the prefectural board of education office participated, helping plan the meeting and providing its teacher-consultants as advisors to each research section. Even at the grassroots level, in the smallest branch unions, "research circles" are held and reports prepared for the prefectural meeting, which in turn may be discussed at the national assembly. Thus at all levels the JTU is concerned with research, and therein fulfills its role as a professional organization.[86]

Political.—The Union has achieved the most dramatic results in its political programs. Beginning with its success in the first general election of 1947, the JTU has had a real voice in national politics. In 1968 it was represented in the Diet by 29 teacher members, including two former general secretaries of the JTU. It is closely affiliated with the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, as well as with the Socialist Party, and draws strong support from both groups. When the Ministry proposes bills designed to weaken the JTU, the leftist parties join the teacher-members of the Diet in united opposition.

Educational.—Although in the minds of some JTU leaders educational programs are infused with political struggles, purely educational motives have inspired many Union activities from the beginning. A few months after it was founded, the JTU threw its energies into establishing the new school unit, the junior high school. While the Government wanted to move gradually into this new type of school, expanding slowly over a 10-year period, the JTU supported the occupation's demand for immediate action. It obtained more than 2.3 million signatures from parents and teachers to support the building program, and asked the Government for a budget of 12 billion yen at a time when Japan was still reeling from the war. The near-bankrupt Government provided much less, but the schools were built, at great social cost. When national aid was not forthcoming, some communities had to go into great debt, and a few mayors committed suicide over the issue.

Other educational campaigns were waged for increasing the annual budget for education, expanding the places available in senior high schools, and reducing class size. The JTU has also been vigilant in the area of academic freedom against the tightening restrictions of Ministry control.

The Government has accused the JTU of being communistic, but, according to figures supplied the author by the Research Department of the National Police Headquarters, there were in 1968 only 13,212 card-carrying

Communists out of a Union membership of 545,172—or 2½ percent. There have always been Communists in the JTU's leadership, and they constantly try to dominate the executive committee. They have only been strong, however, when there was an issue like the Teachers' Efficiency Rating plan that appealed to the rank-and-file members. Their strength was never dependent on large numbers of Communist teachers in the Union. In fact, when the Communist influence was at its peak in the efficiency-rating crisis of 1958, less than 0.5 percent of the total JTU membership were members of the Communist Party. And when the campaign against the rating plan subsided, the Communist leaders lost out to the more moderate Socialists.

In 1968, out of 66 members of the executive committee, the large majority were moderates, identifying themselves with the Socialist Party. But the Communists are vocal, and they often influence the wording of policy statements. One of the most controversial of these is the Union's "Code of Ethics."

The "Code of Ethics"

The JTU, as a member of the World Confederation of the Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), was invited to prepare a statement on its code of ethics for presentation at an annual meeting on this topic on the island of Malta in 1951. A committee of 15 scholars participated in framing the "Code of Ethics" which was presented to the international meeting even before being submitted to the membership. The code was a 10-point set of principles for guiding the membership. The Union, sensitive to the charge that it might be setting up its own "Imperial Rescript on Education," insisted that this code was not an absolute set of values but an outline of the basic ethical lines that Teachers Union members should follow. Minister of Education Araki criticized it as being communistic in orientation and advocating violent revoluton. The JTU denied this, but the wording seemed to imply the concept of class struggle.

In an English text published by the Union headquarters (appendix H, p. 379), the terminology in the document was clearly polemical. It referred to the "power of the working masses" and to the role of teachers as "defenders of peace," adding—

> Upon our shoulders have been laid the historical tasks of protecting peace, insuring the independence of the country, and realizing a society free from exploitation, poverty, and unemployment.

At another point, the document said:

> Teachers are laborers whose workshops are the schools. In the knowledge that labor is the foundation of everything in society, teachers shall be proud of the fact that they themselves are laborers.

Closing in the same vein, it added that "the teachers of Japan, through the labor movement, shall unite with the teachers of the world and join hands with all laborers." (As indicated earlier, the concept of the teacher as a "laborer" conflicted with traditional Japanese views and caused much controversy within the Union.)

The Minister charged that on the evidence of the "Code of Ethics" the JTU was not politically neutral, and he refused to see the Union chiefs until they changed it. In 1961, as a result of internal criticism as well as public protest and Government pressure, the JTU modified the statement, eliminating some of the leftist wording, but retaining the ideas substantially as they were. For example, one of the teacher's tasks, which had in the earlier version read "realizing a society free from exploitation, poverty, and unemployment," now reads, "it may be a responsibility endorsed [sic] to teachers to construct a democratic society as expressed in the Constitution." The changes did not satisfy the Ministry: it demanded a strictly professional code and a change from political purposes and actions to strictly professional activities. The battle over the "Code" still continues.

Teachers' Efficiency Ratings: The Great Confrontation

The greatest test of strength in the struggle between the JTU and the Ministry arose over the teachers' efficiency rating system. (See also pt. I, ch. 4.) A rating system for local public servants was provided in article 40 of the Local Public Services Law, but it had never been applied to teachers.[37] Then a situation occurred in Ehime Prefecture, Shikoku, that started a controversy. The Ehime JTU was particularly strong; it was said that its influence over the prefectural educational system was so great that no school principal could be appointed unless he had been active in Union affairs. In 1955 the Prefecture suffered such serious financial difficulties that it appealed to the Ministry for advice as to how to cut back its educational expenses. It is said that a Ministry official advised the Ehime School Board to apply article 40 to all teachers and use it as a measure for deciding which teachers would be eliminated from the scheduled pay raise. It was announced that the most efficient 70 percent would receive the raise, while the remaining 30 percent would not. The JTU, sensing that this was aimed at its local members, protested strenuously, arguing that a teacher's work could not be graded especially on such qualities as responsibility, teaching knowledge, discipline, and reliability, and warning that such arbitrary action would destroy teacher morale. The JTU followed this protest with the dispatch into Ehime of 3,000 members from all over the country, who were joined by groups of Zengakuren students. The Liberal-Democratic Party countered by sending a delegation of high-ranking Diet members as a "truth squad."[38]

Despite the strength of the JTU's protest, the system was enforced in 1957 and the principals, who had to do the rating, were compelled to resign from the JTU. In one Prefecture, the principals resisted the new task, and were confronted with an order by the Minister himself. In the end, the local people, accustomed to arbitrary Government decisions, acceded. The

JTU not only lost the fight, but in the process lost three-fourths of its membership in Ehime.

Successful in its first attempt, the Ministry decided to enforce the system nationwide. The JTU saw this as a threat to its survival and threw all available resources into blocking the Government move. Strikes, walkouts, sit-down demonstrations, and even hunger strikes were carried out in all but 5 of the 46 Prefectures.[39] In retaliation, authorities arrested teachers and fined some 10,000 of them. In Wakayama Prefecture there was a bloody free-for-all in which 70 teachers (some of them women) and 50 policemen were injured. And the JTU, being committed to assisting those fired or fined, suffered a serious financial setback.

In order to persuade principals and vice principals to leave the JTU, the Ministry in July 1958 passed a law (mentioned in pt. I, ch. 4) giving them an administrative allowance for their extra work in rating the teachers. This was still another blow to the Union.

In 1958, the Ministry revamped the efficiency rating scheme, but it still called for an uncommon sensitivity and judicious understanding on the part of the principal. It required a subjective evaluation of the teacher's personality, attitudes, habits, and abilities. Many teachers felt that it forced them to become sycophants to the principal.

Section I called for the principal to judge, among other things, the teacher's skill in classroom management, psychological and moral guidance, and research and training. Section II called for him to rate the teacher's "love of education and of children," his sincerity, sense of responsibility, and dignity (e.g., Is he well-mannered, clean, with a healthy attitude toward life?).

The JTU's representatives carried their opposition to this rating system to the annual WCOTP meeting in Washington, D.C., in July 1959. Their case won passionate support from teachers around the world, particularly from the representatives of Ireland and Greece. Secretary General William Carr, on behalf of the WCOTP's Executive Committee, wrote to the Japanese Minister of Education, warning that such a plan would ultimately hurt the entire educational system. He pointed out that "there is no evidence that ratings are a reliable proof of merit in teachers," and that they are "frequently detrimental to morale and professional spirit." He added that "ratings are necessarily subjective" and that "some administrators were not themselves qualified to rate teachers, that political considerations sometimes influenced rating, that many teachers are treated unjustly and that the system stimulated competition rather than cooperation among teachers." [40]

In a stiff reply the Ministry claimed that the purpose of the system was to judge the teachers' professional competence *at the time of the appointment* [41] [italics supplied], during the probationary period (i.e., the first 6 months), and in the case of transfer to another school, not merely to determine salary. It refuted the WCOTP's arguments, point by point, and accused the JTU of "attempting to discard the rule of law" and of "hampering the normal business of administration by the competent authorities, frequently . . . violating the human rights of the people concerned. . . ." It ended by chiding the WCOTP for not having "done a sufficient study of the facts" and assured it that the Ministry had no intention of suspending the system.

Ten years later the system was still in operation in all Prefectures except Kyoto and Hokkaido, both of which had had Socialist governors and tended to be independent. The JTU had been weakened financially and by the loss of some 25,000 members, both teachers and principals. The Government was able to enforce the system because of the active support of conservative school boards, the general public approval of the Ministry policy, the willingness of the teachers to conform for personal advantage, and the failure of the JTU to offer an alternative plan. Modifications of the system, worked out by Kanagawa and Nagasaki Prefecture School Boards, removed some of the onus of rating systems by allowing the teacher himself to fill out his own rating, which was then added to the principal's evaluation. Modifications were not widely used, however.

After a decade of continuous struggle over the teachers' efficiency rating scheme, the 1968 meeting of the JTU suddenly dropped any mention of the scheme in its program for the upcoming year. The evident reason: It had not proved to be as threatening a weapon as had been feared. The local school boards responsible for its implementation had not dared use the ratings in salary decisions for fear of stirring up violence again. Some local boards had actually promised local unions never to use the rating results. In the final analysis, the Ministry's goal of gaining substantial control of teachers was frustrated. After all the fury and the fighting, neither side clearly won.

Achievement Tests

Another Ministry move interpreted by the JTU as an effort to weaken it still further was the start in 1961 of nationwide achievement testing of all junior high students (see pt. I, ch. 4). The officially stated purpose was to learn more about the state of the Nation's youth—skills, health, regional differences in scholastic performance, and relation of class size to achievement. This information, according to the Ministry, was designed to guide the Government in its plans to equalize educational opportunity, make curriculum changes, and improve instruction. Since junior high schools were urged to compare their class and individual student performances with the national average, it was clearly intended to encourage the teacher to improve his own performance. The immediate effect was to place all children and teachers in the country in competition with each other, and to increase the pressure for cramming. Some junior high teachers were reported to be pointing all their teaching toward the tests and increasing the number of hours of schooling per day. Teachers who were JTU members feared that the results of their students' achievement would be used against them as teachers.

The JTU promptly opposed the tests. Members in 16 Prefectures boycotted them and others tried to obstruct their administration. Many teachers were arrested. After an 8-year court case the Hokkaido High Court ruled in favor of the JTU's teachers who had tried to obstruct the holding of the tests, on the grounds that "the enforcement of the government-sponsored achievement tests infringed [upon] the spirit of the fundamental law of education and therefore cannot be considered an official duty." [42]

In the course of the struggle, the JTU called together a committee of Tokyo University professors to study the effects of the compulsory testing. The committee reported that the testing added to the teachers' workload, weakened the "we feelings" within the classroom, developed abnormal competitiveness, put a strain on both students and teachers, and encouraged cheating. The necessity for developing habits of memorization was said to encourage social habits of acquiescence and conformity; it stultified critical, thoughtful living and creative learning.[43]

The results of the tests, as reported by the Government, were gratifying to the Ministry and confirmed the worst fears of the JTU. In those regions where the JTU was weak, such as rural Kagawa, Fukui, and Toyama Prefectures, scores were high, whereas in areas where the JTU was strong the students did not do so well. The inference drawn by the Ministry was that teachers not connected with the Union were better teachers than Union activists, since they concentrated on teaching rather than protest.

Some of the positive findings on the relation of school environment to achievement were that (1) small schools and schools in remote areas generally scored low, while those in urban areas scored highest; (2) the optimum class size for best scoring was 43.4 students; (3) in schools of comparable size, those with a greater number of teachers with more experience yielded higher scores; and (4) schools having better scientific equipment and larger libraries, and receiving better financial support from their communities, also performed better.[44]

Prof. Noboru Ito charged that the Government's policy of matching local government contributions for educational improvements merely widens the gap between urban and rural schools. Rural schools were often too poor to raise their share, while the affluent city schools comparatively easily earned Government subsidies. He said that instead of utilizing them to correct regional differences in the educational quality, the Government used the achievement test results to revise school curriculums to meet its own preconceived notion of what the proper education for youth should be.[45]

Conflicting Pressures on Local Teachers

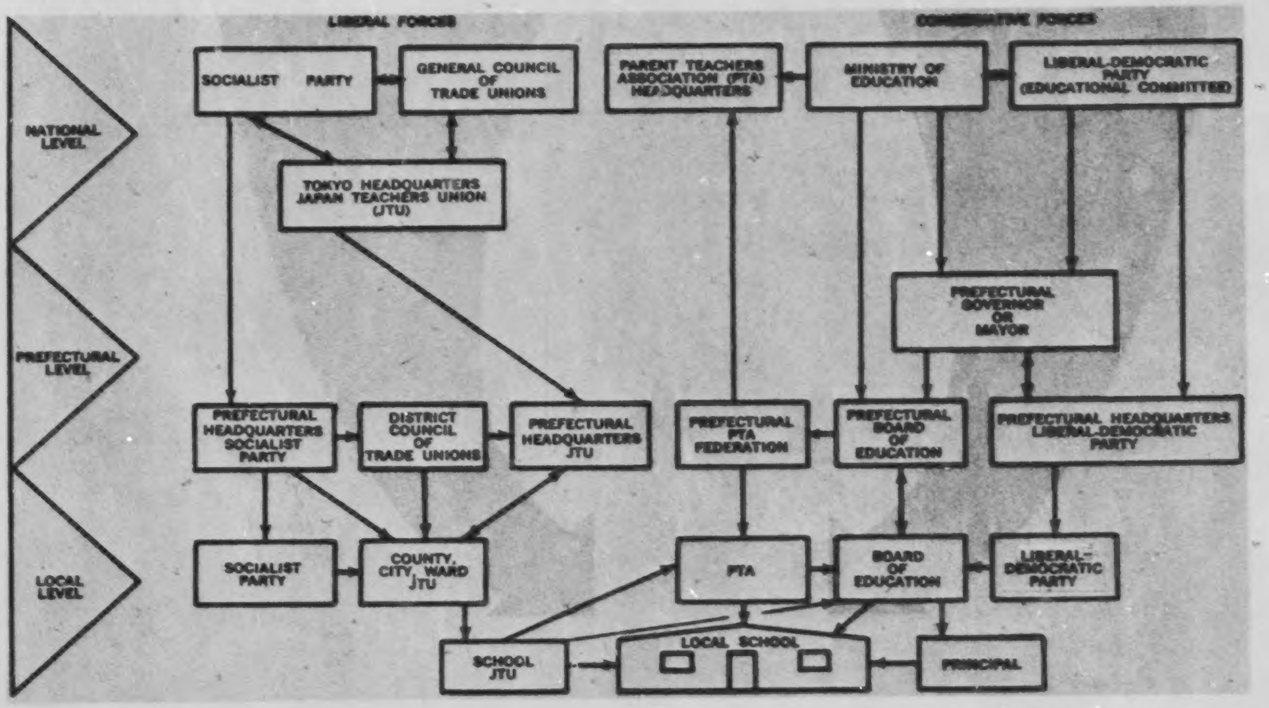
The polarization and politization of Japan's teachers and educational policymakers is diagramed in chart 3 on page 251. Since 1950, the feud between two powerful forces, the JTU (on the left of the chart) and the Ministry (on the right) has sharply divided teachers, administrators, and the general public. JTU leaders find themselves pushed further on every issue, with support coming primarily from the Socialist, and sometimes, the Communist Parties. The Conservative Party (Liberal-Democratic Party) has moved steadily to the right. Every educational issue regularly becomes entangled in politics. Both sides have been guilty of shortchanging education, simply for political advantage over the other. The fight often climaxes on the floor of the National Legislature, where the two protagonists are openly represented. The teachers have as spokesmen teacher-legislators allied with the Socialist Party and forces friendly to labor, while the Ministry finds champions for its cause in the majority party, which has been in power since the end of the war (except for one brief Socialist government). Both groups are represented at national, prefectural, and local levels.

The conservative forces.—The pressures exerted by conservative forces upon teachers emanate from the party in power, the Liberal-Democratic Party. In its central structure at the national level is an Educational Committee (made up of former Ministers of Education and senior politicians), which exercises sufficient power in effect to give orders to the current Minister; the Ministry then funnels orders down to the prefectural Governor and the prefectural (or metropolitan) board of education, which transmit them in turn to the local boards of education. Eventually the edicts find their way to the schools. The party has branches at the prefectural and local levels that carry out its orders regarding education and bring what political influence they have to bear in every local school controversy.

Although the prefectural and local boards of education were originally planned to be autonomous, the Ministry forced through a law in 1956 that made them appointive rather than elective, thus subjecting them to its central authority. Although the boards are appointed by the Governor at the prefectural level and by the mayor at the local (municipal) level, the Minister must approve the superintendent of the prefectural board. This latter board is the key agency in deciding how educational policy is carried at the local level, since it has not only the power of approval over all local boards and superintendents, but also the right to hire or dismiss local teachers. Since the Central Government also pays half of the salaries of local teachers, the Minister of Education has a far-reaching sphere of fiscal influence that encompasses the local board and even the local school.

This authority, which is almost as strong as that exercised by the centralized prewar Ministry, was acquired over a number of years through a

Chart 3.—Sources of pressure on local schools in Japan


LIBERAL FORCES
CONSERVATIVE FORCES
NATIONAL LEVEL
PREFECTURAL LEVEL
LOCAL LEVEL
SOCIALIST PARTY
GENERAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS
TOKYO HEADQUARTERS JAPAN TEACHERS UNION (JTU)
PARENT TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (PTA) HEADQUARTERS
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY (EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE)
PREFECTURAL GOVERNOR OR MAYOR
PREFECTURAL HEADQUARTERS SOCIALIST PARTY
DISTRICT COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS
PREFECTURAL HEADQUARTERS JTU
PREFECTURAL PTA FEDERATION
PREFECTURAL BOARD OF EDUCATION
PREFECTURAL HEADQUARTERS LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY
SOCIALIST PARTY
COUNTY, CITY, WARD JTU
PTA
BOARD OF EDUCATION
LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY
SCHOOL JTU
LOCAL SCHOOL
PRINCIPAL

series of strategic policy moves (described earlier in this study) that placed the Ministry in a position to play a domimant role in the schools. These moves included—

1. Requiring a course in morals in elementary and junior high schools (beginning in 1958) and, later, an ethics course in senior high, with the Ministry providing a teachers' guide, inservice teacher training, and a syllabus for the course.
2. Instituting (within the Ministry in Tokyo) a 3-stage screening process for all textbooks and requiring that local schools use textbooks from the approved list.
3. Establishing a standard curriculum for all levels through senior high, revised drastically in the early 1960's and again in the early 1970's, to foster higher academic standards and a greater degree of national consciousness.
4. Initiating a compulsory nationwide teacher efficiency rating scheme, and providing special compensation to principals for doing the rating.
5. Administering nationwide achievement tests to eighth- and ninth-graders.
6. Providing free textbooks to all compulsory school students, grades 1 through 9.

The liberal forces.—On the side of the liberal forces there is a trinity of power groups at the national level. The Socialist Party is alined with the General Council of Trade Unions, of which the Japan Teachers Union is a major member. Within the headquarters of the JTU there has been a constant struggle for leadership between the Socialists and the Communists, with the Socialists generally holding the advantage under several moderate chairmen. Thirty members of the JTU's Central Executive Committee publicly joined the Socialist Party in 1960; promptly over 1,000 executive officers in 20 prefectural headquarters followed suit. The public feared that such a commitment at the higher levels would eventually compel the individual teacher to become similarly alined, which would violate the law requiring political neutrality of teachers. Accordingly, many PTA's protested this collaboration and in several instances threatened to abolish the local PTA if the teachers continued to be brazenly political.

As previously mentioned, the national JTU's headquarters has meaningful channels of influence on the local union and the individual teacher, but it cannot exercise the tight control it would like to. In the end, it must demonstrate to the teacher that its national policy and activities are in his or her best interests.

The battle between liberal and conservative elements is personified by the teachers themselves. The majority are moderates and liberals, but some are militant unionists and extreme radicals who use the classroom to propagandize leftist causes. The most notable instances of this activism were the Yamaguchi Diary Case, in which a group of teachers in Yamaguchi Prefecture were distributing pro-Soviet materials to students for summer study, and the Asahigaoka Junior High School Case in Kyoto, where radical teachers were found to be teaching from Communist newspapers and leading their students in singing the "Internationale."

On the whole, the forces of conservatism are far more direct and effective than the liberal forces in their pressures on the local schoolteacher. With its excellent enforcement machinery, which facilitates the flow of power from the Ministry to the local school, the Ministry has effectively blocked most Communist propaganda in the schools through its textbook authorization program and constant surveillance over local union activities.

The PTA.—Between the two major contending forces stands the PTA, a volunteer organization modeled after its American counterpart, but by no means as voluntary or as democratically controlled as the American PTA. At the national level, it is closely associated with the Ministry, but has limited influence. At the local level, with over 20 million members and 53,000 organizations, it is often influential in bringing pressure on teachers. In Gifu Prefecture, for example, the leaders of the local PTA's were enlisted by the school board to persuade teachers to drop out of the JTU.[46] For the most part, however, its function is financial, supplementing school funds for necessities as well as extras. It frequently pays for special furniture, musical instruments, landscaping, swimming pools, emergency repairs to buildings, traveling expenses of teachers, and, according to an investigation by the Ministry, it sometimes even supplements teachers' salaries.[47] The trend, however, is to reduce the PTA's contribution to school expenses, and thereby really to fulfill the law's promise of free education during the compulsory years.

The Constitution and bylaws of the PTA prohibit political activity, but some associations still become involved in politics. In fact, the presidency of the organization is sometimes sought by aspiring local leaders as the first step toward a political career. Occupying a middle position as it does, the local PTA is wooed by both contending parties. Since it is composed of teachers as well as parents, and since parents generally respect teachers, the PTA often supports the teachers. In the fight against achievement tests, however, the PTA's were not always with the JTU, for parents welcomed the tests as another means to prepare their children for the entrance examinations ahead. As a direct contributor to educational costs, the PTA might be expected to seek and secure a voice in formulating local educational policy, but in actuality it regards intrusion in school affairs as inappropriate, and leaves such issues to the principal's discretion. On balance, its overall influence is thus inclined to be somewhat conservative.

The teacher's reaction.—Amid this web of countervailing forces stands the teacher in the local school, pulled and pushed in a number of conflicting directions. He is expected by the Ministry to eschew politics, follow the rules, and teach the new nationalism and conformism. He is obliged, in the eyes of parents, to get their offspring into select schools.

Finally, in the view of the JTU, he is enjoined to be more political and demand his rights as a laborer. Yet all three groups profess that their main interest is in enabling the teacher to be a better teacher and to "contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state," the goal proclaimed in the Fundamental Law of Education.

The teachers' general response to the political environment in which they live and work is to affirm the importance of a national teachers' union that will be able to counter the increasing Ministry of Education control that many fear. As one older teacher with prewar teaching experience said, "The union is necessary. If it were not for the union, the Ministry of Education would get stronger and stronger. When compared to the past, it would not be good for this to happen." Most teachers thus accept the conflict between the JTU and the Ministry as inevitable and necessary.[48] Others, however, are torn by conflict within themselves, become apathetic about the political struggle, and devote themselves solely to their teaching duties.

Interview data from a group of junior high school teachers in a small-town school north of Tokyo indicated that teachers resolve the conflict they feel in their relations with the Ministry and the JTU by developing a sense of loyalty to *both* organizations, while at the same time experiencing a certain sense of isolation from each of them. In practice, they make their own decisions on educational issues. Publicly, "they must support the JTU struggle and the Ministry of Education's directives. . . . Privately, they reserve the right to their own opinions which are often directly contradictory to their public stands."[49] They see this neither as hypocrisy nor inconsistency, but simply as an accommodation to powerful conflicting pressures and an effort to preserve their own identity and group harmony.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Requirements

The ideal teacher-preparation program envisaged by the UNESCO/ILO Expert Meeting on the Status of Teachers in 1966 was designed to develop in each student-teacher his general education and personal culture, ability to teach others, awareness of the principles that underlie good human relations (both within and across national boundaries), and a sense of responsibility for contributing both by teaching and by example to social, cultural, and economic progress.[50] Sophisticated and professional, Japan's teacher-preparation program has been working toward each of these goals.

The minimum standards for preservice teacher-education are embodied in the Educational Personnel Certification Law of 1949 and its implementing regulations, and in the standards set forth by the Japanese University Accreditation Association (JUAA) for establishing universities. As stated earlier in this chapter, the student's program must consist of three components: (1) *General education* (36 credit hours); (2) *specialization in the teaching major and minor* (from the legal minimum of 24 up to 75 credit hours, according to the requirements of the particular university); and (3) *professional education courses* (28 to 50 credit hours for the elementary program, and 14 for the secondary). These requirements, plus English (8 to 12 hours) and physical education (4 hours), make up the minimum 124 credit hours necessary for graduation. Most students, however, take more hours.

Preparation of teachers for specialized areas is conducted in programs designed particularly for the purpose. For example, teachers of special education for the handicapped are prepared in the special education departments available in some universities. Institutes for training technical teachers are attached to the faculties of engineering of nine national universities.

Student teaching, on the average consisting of 4 credit hours, is carried out in campus laboratory schools—called attached schools—and in the cooperating schools off campus. It generally consists of 1 week of observation and orientation during the student's third year, and 3 to 6 weeks of practice teaching during the fourth year. An unofficial survey of practices in 34 teacher-education institutions in 1968 showed that an average of 5 weeks was customary for elementary teachers and 4 weeks for secondary.[51] Part of this time is spent on campus discussing the experience with the supervising professor. Supervision on the job is provided by the principal or classroom teacher in the attached or cooperating school. As in other advanced countries, there is frequently a gap between theory and practice; when the college of education is progressive and experimental, and the school in which the practice teaching takes place is conservative in its methods, the student-teacher often becomes frustrated.

Recruitment and Teacher Shortages

Recruitment.—A major problem is recruitment of high-quality candidates into the field. Many university students enroll in an education department as a second choice, or because in some institutions the entrance examination for the education course is easier to pass than that in other disciplines. Serious commitment to the teaching profession is woefully wanting among a substantial number of education students. Since in Japan's rapidly expanding economy the demand for managerial types exceeds the supply, company recruiters pursue any college graduate no matter what his major, and many graduates in education are signed up by aggressive industrial recruiters. Consequently, less than half of the certificated 1965 graduates actually went into teaching. The expression *demo shika sensei* ("teachers as a last resort"), applied to those not hired by a company, indicates the diminished status of teaching in the minds of some university students. Still, a great number of able, dedicated people do enter the field.

Teacher shortages.—Recently the supply of teachers has been catching up with the demand. A 1968 Ministry publication reported that the number of elementary and secondary teachers was, in general, sufficient to fill the needs.[52] In rapidly expanding urban areas, however, there was still a slight shortage of elementary teachers and of senior high teachers of mathematics and vocational subjects. To cope with the need for more elementary teachers, the Ministry increased the quota in teacher education facilities of national universities. Thus teacher shortage is not currently a problem. However, the sweeping reform proposed by the Ministry of Education in 1971, calling for 2 additional years of education at the preschool level (for children aged 4 to 5) and a further planned expansion of opportunities for secondary schooling, will require an eventual 35-percent increase in teaching personnel at the kindergarten, elementary, and junior high school levels.

The Trend Toward Separate Teacher-Education Institutions

The traditional separation of elementary and secondary teacher training remains a problem. Institutions training senior high school teachers always rank higher on the prestige scale than those training elementary school teachers, and thus the social status of secondary teachers is higher than that of their elementary school colleagues. As in many other countries, faculties of education in the university have difficulty maintaining parity with older faculties in other disciplines, and securing comparable support.

Because of this problem, and because of the attachment of the senior people to old ways, many interested persons, both educators and non-educators, have agitated for preparing teachers in separate institutions, as was done in the prewar normal schools. Much of the pressure in this direction has come from the Ministry, whose policy, as recommended by the Central Council for Education, is to return to separate institutions for teacher education. As described in part I, chapter 5, the 1971 "Master Plan for the Reform of Higher Education," prepared by the CCE, removes teacher education from the 4-year comprehensive university and sets it apart in a special institution "to train personnel like teachers, sailors, artists, and athletes for whom . . . special training is necessary. . . ."[53]

The education faculty of the prestigious national university, Tohoku, at Sendai, has already broken away and formed the independent Miyagi Education University. Kyoto University of Liberal Arts and Education has become Kyoto University of Education. The "liberal arts and education" faculties in universities, which were originally separate normal schools, are changing their names to "Faculty of Education."

Liberal educators oppose this move, charging that the new specialized institutes and faculties will be merely "vocational schools for the training of teachers," and hence a reversion to the narrow specialization and inferior status of the old normal schools. The militant Zengakuren students of Yokohama National University called a strike against the change of their "liberal arts and education" faculty to a strictly "education faculty," thereby eliminating its function of providing general education. In explanation of the strike, the chairman of the local Zengakuren said:

> We are greatly horrified about the step-by-step advance of State control over education. We have been opposing the creation of an Education Faculty as a teacher-training organ [because it runs counter to] a postwar idea that teachers should be trained at a university as a whole.[54]

The change, if fully implemented, will undoubtedly negate the principal gain of teacher education in the postwar period—that of the increased status achieved in becoming a part of the regular academic university. But the new postwar relationship had pleased neither the old-line academics nor many of the education professors, particularly the holdovers from normal schools. Both consider the current teacher-training program unsatisfactory. Since many programs were a result of unfortunate "marriages of institutions" put together during the occupation period according to a fixed and arbitrary formula, they were often not well articulated, and this weakness has put them in jeopardy.

SUMMARY

Despite some problems concerning the nature of his training, the product of teacher education today is vastly different from the old "normal school type." The new system recruits students from all levels of society and, presently at least, educates them in the liberal tradition of the university. In general, they have a broader and more independent professional outlook than their predecessors and are technically more competent. Most are highly professional, dedicated, and well prepared. They are generally a hard-working group, eager to learn the latest techniques and to keep up with the latest discoveries in all areas, especially mathematics and science.

The status of teachers is, on balance, relatively high, but their freedom of choice of texts, methods, and curriculums is inhibited by the straitjacket of the examination system and the Ministry's drive to recentralize its control.

Economically, the teacher's position has improved to the point that the relationship between the average teaching salary and the national salary average is almost the same as that in other developed countries. For this teachers must thank the prosperity of the country, the honor in which they are still held by the public, and the constant lobbying of the JTU. Teachers, however, are not satisfied; they want to share to a greater extent in the Nation's rising standard of living. So they "moonlight," to be able to afford a good education for their children, a car, and adequate housing.

NOTES

[1] Joseph J. Spae, *Ito Jinsai: A Philosopher, Educator, and Sinologist of the Tokugawa Period* (Peiping, The Catholic University of Peiping, 1948), p. 166.

[2] Tomitaro Karasawa, "A New Image for the Teachers of Japan," *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. 7, no. 2 (August 1969), pp. 70–71. Hereafter this publication is referred to as JSPIJ.

[3] Tatsuzo Suzuki, "A Study of the Japanese National Character," translated and reprinted by Sen Nishiyama, *Annals of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics*, Supplement 6 (1970), p. 27.

[4] As quoted in Ronald S. Anderson, *Japan: Three Epochs of Modern Education* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 169.

[5] *Naikaku Soridaijin Kambu Koho Shitsu* (Prime Minister's Office for Public Opinion), *Chosa Hokoku Sho, 1963 (Survey Report, 1963)*, (Tokyo, the Office, 1963), p. 29.

[6] Fusako Kitamura, *A Study of the Japan Teachers Union and Recommendations for Improvement* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 162), p. 432. Unpublished doctor's thesis.

[7] John Singleton, *Nichu, A Japanese School* New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), pp. 46–48.

[8] *Nihon Shakaigakkai Chosa Iinkai* (Research Committee of the Japanese Sociological Society, ed.), *Nihon Shakai no Kaisoteki Kozo (Social Class Structure in Japan)*, (Tokyo, Yuhikaku Publishing Co., 1958), p. 15. In a prestige rating of 90 occupations in the United States made in 1963 the college professor ranked eighth, just below a cabinet member in the Federal Government, while the public school teacher ranked 29.5, just below the accountant for a large business. Robert Hodge, Paul Seigal, and Peter Rossi, *Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925–1963* (Chicago, National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, 1964), table 1.

[9] Akimura Tsujimura, "Gendai Shakai Ron" ("Essays on Contemporary Society") in *Shakai Gaku Koza (Seminar in Sociology)*, (Tokyo, Tokyo University Press, 1972), vol. 13, pp. 211 and 213.

[10] Figures supplied the author by the Personnel Section, Ministry of Education, in a personal interview on Dec. 8, 1973, Tokyo. The yen-dollar exchange rate at this date was 280:1.

[11] The following discussion of the system of allowances is based on material in Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Agency, 1972), pp. 36–38, as modified and updated for the author by members of the Personnel Section, Ministry of Education, Dec. 10, 1973.

[12] Takeshi Muramatsu, ed., *Kyoiku No Mori (The Woods of Education)*, (Tokyo, *Mainichi*, 1968), vol. 10, p. 181.

[13] Ibid., p. 35.

[14] Ibid., p. 208.

[15] Letter to the author from Mr. Genji Sakuma, July 28, 1968.

[16] According to Ministry statistics for 1966, although the incidence of tuberculosis was declining, almost 2 percent of the senior high teachers and more than 5 percent of the teachers of special education suffered from the disease.

[17] International Labor Organization, *Report of the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association Concerning Persons Employed in the Public Sector in Japan* (Geneva, International Labor Organization, 1966), special supplement, vol. 49, p. 468.

[18] Ministry of Education, *Educational Standards in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1971), p. 102.

[19] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *The Development of Modern Education and Teacher Training in Japan* (Tokyo Institute for Democratic Education, 1961), p. 56.

[20] Prof. Yutaka Ishido of the Hiroshima University School of Education is making a long-term study of this problem.

[21] *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Mombu Tokei Yoran (Handbook of Educational Statistics, 1970)*, (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1970), pp. 28 and 31.

[22] *Asahi Evening News*, May 10, 1969.

[23] *Asahi Evening News*, Apr. 4, 1969.

[24] International Labor Office, op. cit., p. 309.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 428.

[28] Ibid., p. 303.

[29] Ibid., p. 513.

[30] Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan, A Graphic Presentation, 1971* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1971), p. 91.

[31] Singleton, op. cit., p. 106.

[32] Ibid., p. 107.

[33] International Labor Office, op. cit., pp. 363–80.

[34] Michio Nagai, "What Should Be Done About Teachers?" *JSPIJ* (December 1963), p. 102.

[35] JTU, ed., *Japan Teachers Union, Its Organization and Movement, 1963–64* (Tokyo, JTU, 1963), p. 10.

[36] Singleton, op. cit., p. 99.

[37] Article 40. The appointment officer of local public servants must conduct periodic efficiency ratings of all employees under his responsibility and must act appropriately according to the results.

[38] *Asahi Shimbun*, Aug. 21, 1958.

[39] *Japan Times*, Apr. 24, 1958.

[40] Mimeographed copies of the correspondence are available in the WCOTP's offices in Washington, D.C.

[41] If the teacher was being appointed for the first time, the principal would seem to have no basis on which to make a judgment in the required detail.

[42] *Japan Times*, June 28, 1968.

[43] As quoted in Theodore Brameld, *Japan: Culture, Education and Change in Two Communities* (New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), p. 241.

[44] Susumu Shibanuma, *A Comparative Study on Japanese and American Education* (Kashiwa City, Chiba, Hiroike Institute of Education, 1967), p. 8.

[45] Noboru Ito, "Education & Children's Welfare," *JSPIJ*, vol. 8 (August 1965), p. 87.

[46] International Labor Office, op. cit., p. 369.

[47] *Asahi Evening News*, Sept. 21, 1968.

[48] Singleton, op. cit., p. 106.

[49] Ibid.

[50] "Draft Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers," *Education Panorama*, vol. 8 (1966), p. 2.

[51] Willie J. Packing, *Survey of Teacher Education in Japan* (Tokyo, International Christian University, 1968), p. 11 of précis. Unpublished M.A. thesis.

[52] Ministry of Education, *Educational Developments in 1967–1968* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1968), p. 17.

[53] Central Council for Education, *The Master Plan for the Reform of Higher Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry of Education, 1970), p. 19.

[54] Satoshi Kitakoji, "Fighting Zengakuren Is Revived," *Gendai No Me* (May 1966), as translated in *Summaries of Selected Japanese Magazines* (Tokyo, United States Embassy, May 1966), p. 16.

CHAPTER 2
ADMINISTRATION, SUPERVISION, AND FINANCE

ADMINISTRATION: THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Responsibilities

The Ministry of Education (*Mombusho*) is the national authority responsible for all school education, adult education (i.e., social education), and culture, and also for religious affairs. Its secretariat prepares budget estimates for these responsibilities, transmits the estimates to the Diet, and

The Ministry of Education in the heart of Tokyo. (Educational Facilities Division, The Ministry, Tokyo.)

drafts all bills relating to education for Diet action. It also conducts nationwide surveys on education, compiles statistics, publishes reports, and on their basis formulates standards for curriculum. The Ministry controls and maintains certain national schools directly—the national universities and some junior colleges and technical colleges, as well as a few vocational high schools and laboratory (experimental) schools attached to the national universities. It supervises, advises, and allocates financial aid to local boards of education. It is also responsible for national museums, art galleries, the Japan Academy of Arts, and a number of research institutes.

Organization—May 1972

Under the Minister and his immediate aides, the basic structure of the Ministry (see chart 4, pp. 264–265) consists of a secretariat and five major "line" bureaus for (1) elementary and secondary education, (2) higher education and science, (3) social education, (4) physical education, and (5) administration. These bureaus are subdivided into divisions to carry out the specialized duties of the Ministry. To provide these services, the Ministry in Tokyo employs about 1,400 people, who work in an old building in the heart of the city.

Advisory Councils

Fourteen different advisory councils assist the Minister in policymaking. The highest is the Central Council for Education (CCE). It was formed in June 1952, after the Peace Treaty, as the successor to the Japanese Education Reform Council (JERC). At the outset the CCE authorized a representative of the JTU to attend its meetings as an observer and to voice Union views, but by 1957 its sessions were closed to the Union. The CCE consists of 15 distinguished men, including presidents of public and private universities, a representative of the press, and 3 prominent businessmen. The Minister appoints these members, as he does the personnel of all the advisory councils, and is said to select only friends of his policy. Major educational problems are either raised by the Council itself or referred to it by the Minister for study and recommendations. For example, the CCE produced plans for curricular revisions in the elementary, junior, and senior high schools for the 1970's at the request of the Minister, and after 4 years' study it recommended a major revision of the entire educational system in June 1971 in response to a call from the Minister.

In addition to the Minister's councils, another type of educational advisory committee—the Educational Committee of the Liberal-Democratic Party—has its locus within the political party system and is much more powerful than the CCE and the Minister. This conservative group includes all the former Ministers of Education, as well as many influential senior

Diet members. This committ[illegible]s said to have been the source of the idea of introducing myths and legends into elementary and junior high history in the curricular revision plans for the 1970's.

Personnel

The highest post in the Ministry is held by the Minister, who, as in most parliamentary democracies, is a prominent member of the majority party. Opposition critics argue that as long as a loyal party member is Minister, neutrality of educational policy cannot be realized. During the occupation the Ministers were educators and scholars of intellectual stature, but their tenure tended to be short, and continuity of policy and permanence of influence was difficult to attain.

After the occupation, the post of Minister became political. Scholars were replaced by political appointees, many of whom had previously served in the former Ministries of Education and Home Affairs, the latter Ministry being the one in charge of police and closely tied to the Japanese military. One of the most durable administrators of this kind has been Hirokichi Nadao, born in 1899. Formerly, Vice Minister of Home Affairs in a prewar cabinet, he served in four postwar cabinets as Minister of Education before eventually moving up to the Education Committee of the Liberal-Democratic Party.

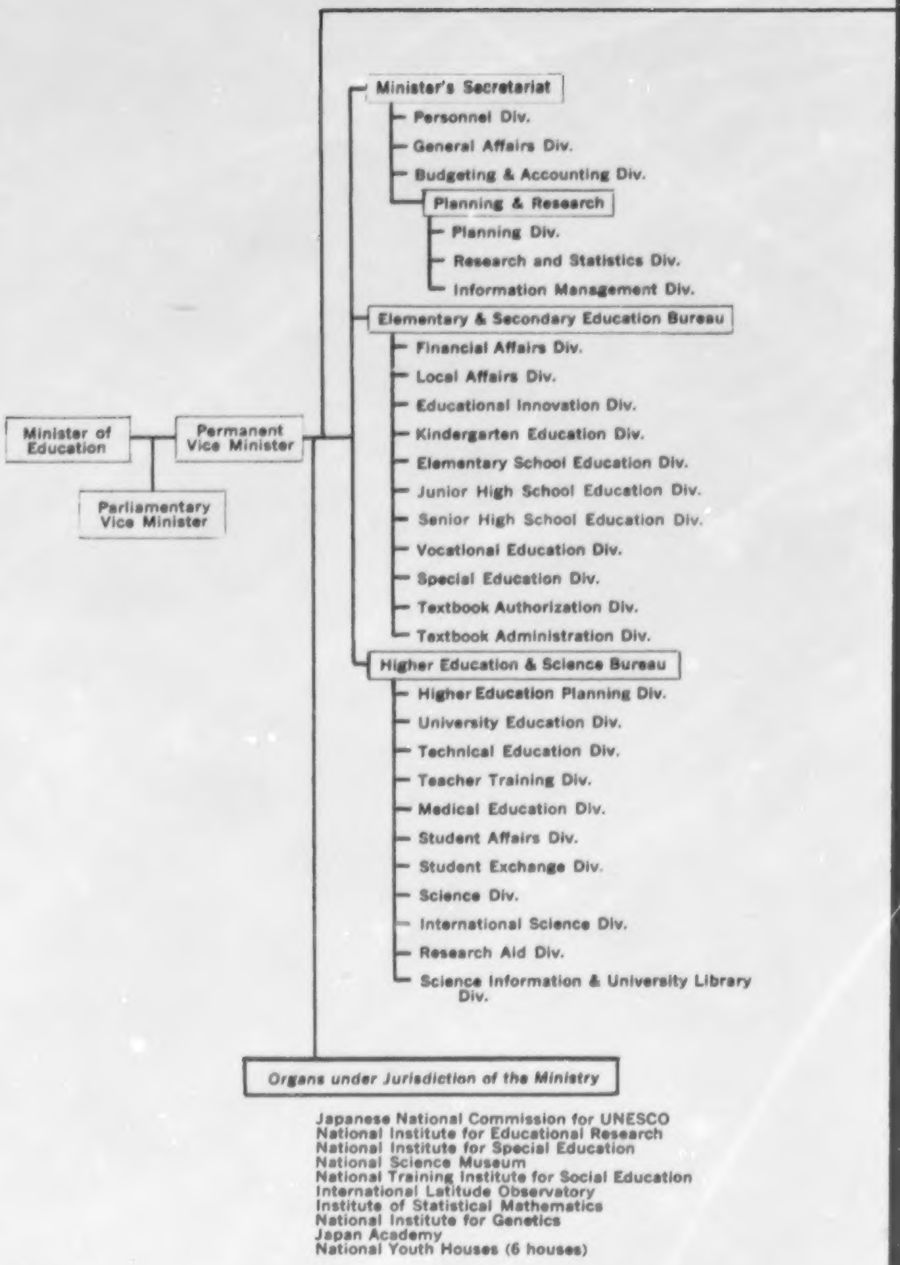
The Permanent Vice Minister is the highest professional officer, and is generally a very able bureaucrat who has worked his way up in the Ministry. The Ministry of Education, like many other Ministries, has long been the special preserve of law graduates of Tokyo University. At one time when Mr. Nadao was Minister, his Vice Minister, two out of three top officials in his secretariat, and four out of six bureau chiefs were all (like Mr. Nadao himself) Tokyo University law graduates. Only his chief of the Elementary and Secondary Bureau was a graduate of a university of education.[1] At the lower echelons, however, some experienced educators were to be found.

Divisions

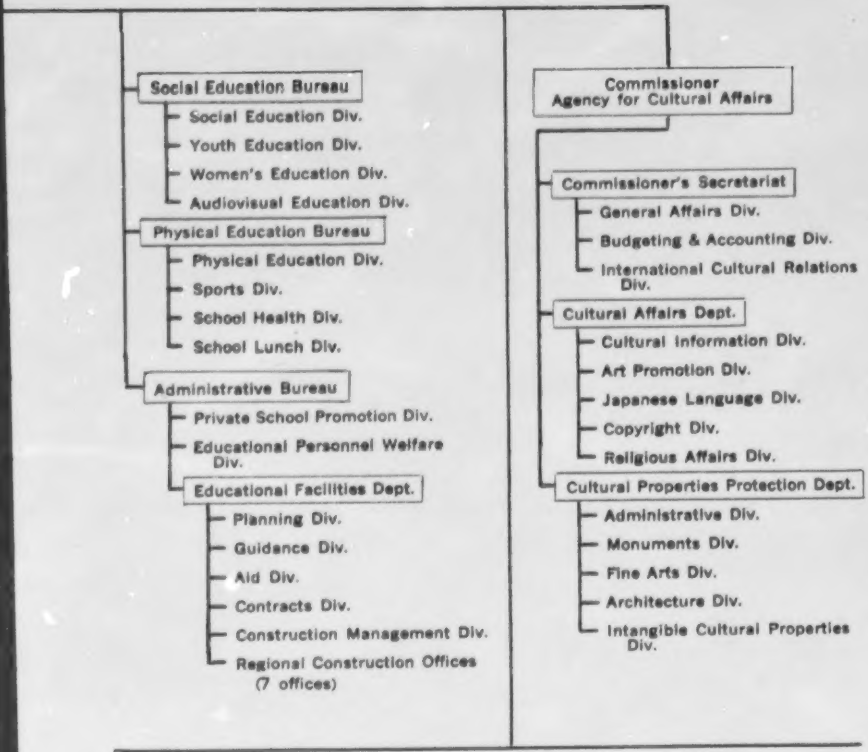
Some of the divisions of the educational bureaus do an outstanding job. One that provides valuable assistance to the foreigner studying Japanese education is the *Research and Statistics Division* of the Minister's secretariat. In addition to conducting research on educational problems and collecting statistics, it is responsible for informational publications in English, including an English version of the annual report of the Ministry and other high-quality, well-illustrated printed materials.

The Elementary School Education Division serves the largest clientele of all school divisions. It supervises kindergarten and elementary administration, assists and advises boards of education, establishes educational stan-

Chart 4.—Organization of the


Minister of Education
Parliamentary Vice Minister
Permanent Vice Minister
Minister's Secretariat
Personnel Div.
General Affairs Div.
Budgeting & Accounting Div.
Planning & Research
Planning Div.
Research and Statistics Div.
Information Management Div.
Elementary & Secondary Education Bureau
Financial Affairs Div.
Local Affairs Div.
Educational Innovation Div.
Kindergarten Education Div.
Elementary School Education Div.
Junior High School Education Div.
Senior High School Education Div.
Vocational Education Div.
Special Education Div.
Textbook Authorization Div.
Textbook Administration Div.
Higher Education & Science Bureau
Higher Education Planning Div.
University Education Div.
Technical Education Div.
Teacher Training Div.
Medical Education Div.
Student Affairs Div.
Student Exchange Div.
Science Div.
International Science Div.
Research Aid Div.
Science Information & University Library Div.
Organs under Jurisdiction of the Ministry
Japanese National Commission for UNESCO
National Institute for Educational Research
National Institute for Special Education
National Science Museum
National Training Institute for Social Education
International Latitude Observatory
Institute of Statistical Mathematics
National Institute for Genetics
Japan Academy
National Youth Houses (6 houses)

Ministry of Education: May 1972


Social Education Bureau
Social Education Div.
Youth Education Div.
Women's Education Div.
Audiovisual Education Div.
Physical Education Bureau
Physical Education Div.
Sports Div.
School Health Div.
School Lunch Div.
Administrative Bureau
Private School Promotion Div.
Educational Personnel Welfare Div.
Educational Facilities Dept.
Planning Div.
Guidance Div.
Aid Div.
Contracts Div.
Construction Management Div.
Regional Construction Offices (7 offices)
Commissioner Agency for Cultural Affairs
Commissioner's Secretariat
General Affairs Div.
Budgeting & Accounting Div.
International Cultural Relations Div.
Cultural Affairs Dept.
Cultural Information Div.
Art Promotion Div.
Japanese Language Div.
Copyright Div.
Religious Affairs Div.
Cultural Properties Protection Dept.
Administrative Div.
Monuments Div.
Fine Arts Div.
Architecture Div.
Intangible Cultural Properties Div.

Councils (Advisory Bodies to the Minister)

Central Council for Education
Selection of Persons of Cultural Merit
Curriculum
Health and Physical Education
Science Education & Vocational Education
Teacher Training
Scientific Research
Geodesy
Social Education
Private Universities
University Chartering
University Problems (Temporary)
Technical Colleges
Textbook Authorization

National Educational Institutions, etc.

National Universities (75)
National Junior Colleges (1)
National Technical Colleges (52)
National Upper Secondary Schools (3)
National Laboratory for High Energy Physics
National Institute of Japanese Literature

Organs Attached to the Agency

National Museums (3)
National Museums of Modern Art (2)
National Museum of Western Art
National Language Research Institute
National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (2)
Japan Art Academy

Councils (Advisory Bodies on Cultural Affairs)

Japanese Language
Copyright Compensation
Religious Juridicial Persons
Cultural Properties Protection

Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1972), pp. 42–43.

dards, edits and revises the curriculum, assists inservice training of teachers, advises on school attendance and prevention of delinquency, and supervises elementary school libraries.

The Lower Secondary School Education Division and the *Upper Secondary School Education Division* perform generally the same functions as the elementary division, and in addition the latter division is concerned with such matters as correspondence and night school education and selection procedures for admission to senior high school.

The Special Education Division supervises administration of schools for the blind, deaf, and otherwise handicapped, and establishes standards for them. It also edits and revises curriculum and textbooks necessary for special education, and even publishes texts, since the market for them is so small it would not be feasible for private publishers to do so.

One of the newer organizational elements in the Ministry is the *Textbook Authorization Division* in the Elementary and Secondary Education Bureau. Its responsibility is to screen all textbooks before publication. (See ch. 3 for a fuller discussion of this subject.)

The Local Affairs Division is one of the most influential of the Ministry's subdivisions in terms of direct impact on education at the prefectural and local levels. This division claims it takes the candidates with the highest scores from the public service examinations and, after giving them rigorous training in interpreting laws, elevates them to high positions in the Ministry.[2] One of its major functions is to act as a liaison with the prefectural boards of education and school superintendents. Also from this and other divisions experienced officials are sent on temporary assignment to the Prefectures to serve on boards of education as chiefs of sections, vice superintendents, and even superintendents. In 1968 the prefectural superintendents of at least 7 of the 46 Prefectures were Ministry officials on loan. The chief of the Ministry's Personnel Division is reported to have commented as follows on this practice:

> We don't force Ministry officials on the prefectures as superintendents of schools. In every case, we sent them in compliance with the board's request, because they could not find suitable persons. I am sure the administrative machinery runs smoother through this kind of personnel relationship between central and local authorities.[3]

A Prefecture counts it an advantage to have a Ministry official as its superintendent of schools, because he is familiar with the policies of the Ministry and is thought to be able to get more money in grants for the Prefecture. From the Ministry's point of view such an appointee is convenient—he can act as the eyes and ears of the Ministry, keeping it informed on local politics, and he is much more cooperative than someone from the opposition party would be.

After working in the Prefecture for 2 years or so, the "loaned" official moves back to Tokyo and continues his climb in the hierarchy there. Thus, high Ministry officials have often had practical experience at the local level and can better understand local politics.

The National Institute for Educational Research

The major research organ under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education is the National Institute for Educational Research (NIER). Inaugurated in 1949, it assumed the important function of carrying out fundamental and applied research on education, with the aim of collecting data and providing information and materials that would be useful in determining the educational policies of national and local governments.

It collaborates closely with Ministry officials, other educational authorities, and academic institutes, as well as with some 400 local public and private educational research institutes around the country in carrying out nationwide surveys and research projects for improving Japanese education. Its findings are published in numerous reports, some of them in English. Most helpful to foreign scholars studying Japanese education is the Institute's "Research Bulletin." Published in English since 1959, it summarizes outstanding NIER research projects. Typical articles cover such subjects as programed learning, educational planning, science and mathematics instruction, technical education, education of the gifted, and morals education.

The Institute is particularly strong in comparative education, under a program begun in 1955. For the first few years primary emphasis was placed on studies of Western systems—e.g., those of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany. Since 1967, however, with increasing Government interest in aid to Asia and with inauguration of the UNESCO-NIER Regional Program for Educational Research in Asia, the Institute has turned its attention to problems of Asian countries. It has conducted studies on such subjects as *Wastage in Primary Education in Asia* ("Research Bulletin No. 11," March 1972), and provided leadership for national research projects in the third-world countries of Southeast and South Asia.

The Research Center for Science Education at the NIER was responsible for carrying out, in Japan, studies initiated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) concerning pupil performance in mathematics education (reported in 1967) and science education (reported in 1973). In both subjects Japan ranked first in the world.

At the heart of the NIER is an attached Library of Education, containing roughly a quarter of a million volumes in Japanese, classical Chinese, and foreign languages, including a Japanese textbook collection of 50,000 volumes. The library is open to the public, as well as being a research tool of the Institute staff.

The External Service Department of the Institute provides services to teachers, research institutes, and educational authorities at the local level in Japan, and to national authorities engaged in educational planning and policymaking. At the international level, by holding education research workshops in Japan and assisting research abroad, Japan is exerting wide-ranging educational leadership, especially among the developing countries of Asia.

Since 1964 the NIER has been under the leadership of a distinguished educational statesman, Dr. Masunori Hiratsuka, who is also president of the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, a member of the Central Council for Education, and chairman of the Council for the Revision of School Curriculum. In building the organization, Dr. Hiratsuka has operated on the unusual policy of bringing in innovative younger scholars, regardless of whether or not they are members of the academic clique of Tokyo University. Furthermore, he has helped convince the Government of the value of educational research, particularly at this period of revision in Japanese educational history. As a consequence, the Government has recently approved a 5-year plan for expanding the NIER, which will bring about 100 new researchers to the present staff.

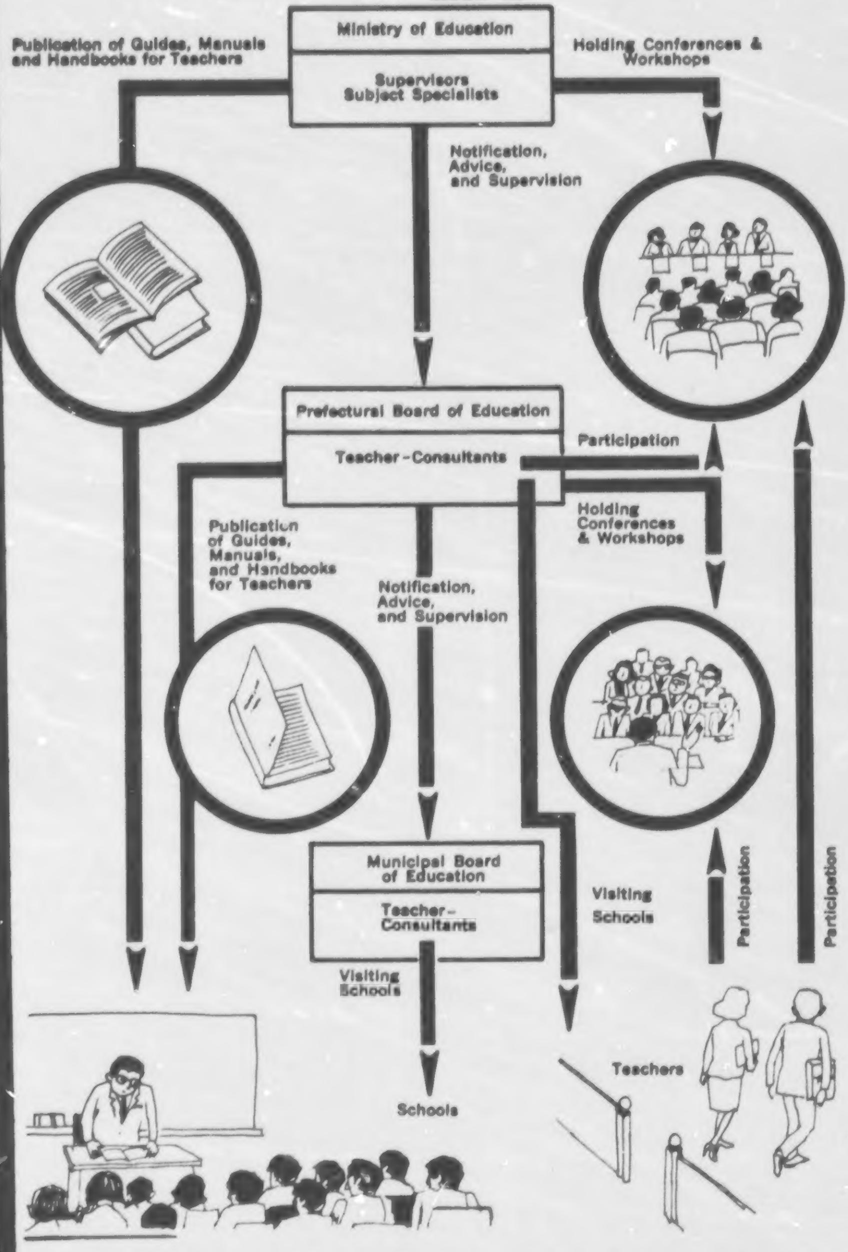
SUPERVISION

Boards of Education

The organization for school supervision is shown in chart 5 on page 267. At the prefectural level, superintendents of schools are appointed by the Governor but must be approved by the Minister; at the local level, school superintendents of cities, towns, and villages are appointed by the mayor, but must be approved by the prefectural board of education, which is directly under Ministry control. The Minister has express authority to advise, guide, and supervise all local boards of education, and has veto power over their acts. The Ministry's power therefore generally flows down relatively unimpeded, under a system which, as one Minister put it, "clarifies the lines of command in the educational structure." [4]

An occasional recalcitrant board will refuse to bow to Ministry demands. The Kyoto Prefectural Board, for example, chaired by a liberal educator who is a biology professor at Doshisha University, was unable to get its nominee for superintendent approved by the Ministry for 6 months because local conservative politicians charged the board with being soft on the JTU.[5] Eventually a compromise was reached in which the new superintendent agreed to go to Tokyo for questioning, but the Ministry approved him upon his arrival, and before the interview.[6]

Chart 5.—Organization for school supervision: 1971


Ministry of Education
Supervisors
Subject Specialists
Publication of Guides, Manuals and Handbooks for Teachers
Holding Conferences & Workshops
Notification, Advice, and Supervision
Prefectural Board of Education
Teacher-Consultants
Participation
Publication of Guides, Manuals, and Handbooks for Teachers
Holding Conferences & Workshops
Notification, Advice, and Supervision
Municipal Board of Education
Teacher-Consultants
Visiting Schools
Participation
Participation
Visiting Schools
Schools
Teachers

ource: Adapted from Ministry of Education, *Education in Japan: A Graphic Presentation,* 971 (Tokyo, Government Printing Bureau, 1971), p. 39.

The functions of the 46 prefectural and 3,402 local boards (1972 figure) have been primarily advisory. They work to gain support for adequate education budgets for communities and, in general, seek to promote the cause of education. They also participate in negotiations with the JTU's locals concerning salary schedules, working hours, and other working conditions if the local unions request it, but legally these negotiations may not result in a collective bargaining agreement.[7] They also have the following administrative functions:

1. To establish, maintain, and abolish schools under their jurisdiction; and to plan and carry out construction of new schools.
2. To make and revise curriculums in accordance with the Ministry's "Course of Studies"; and to administer the counseling and guidance program.
3. To select textbooks and administer distribution of free books to grades 1 through 9.
4. To appoint, transfer, and dismiss teachers and principals; and to arrange for their retirement.
5. To purchase instructional materials; and to supervise and advise on their use in schools.
6. To conduct inservice training for teachers.
7. To make reports and surveys as directed by the Ministry.
8. To supervise and administer entrance, transfer, and suspension of students.

Prefectural boards have broad supervisory powers over local boards. They transmit orders down from the Ministry and give administrative and professional advice. They request local boards to submit reports that are then conveyed to Tokyo. They certify all the teachers in the Prefecture, establish attendance districts for public senior high schools, manage the school lunch program, and supervise social education. They appoint and dismiss teachers at elementary, junior high, and part-time senior high schools that are operated by local governments, and pay the salaries of these teachers. But at neither prefectural nor local levels is there fiscal independence. The budget for education is proposed by the prefectural board, but has to be approved by the Governor and enacted by the legislature. Local budgets are drawn up by the municipal mayor on the basis of local board estimates.

Boards of education, since 1956 when they were changed from being elected to being appointed (see pt. I, ch. 4), have lost their independence and much of their original function. Board membership is a prestige job allocated to distinguished older community leaders. Since the members are appointed by the Governor, they generally approve what the Governor and his party propose. An ex-superintendent described the situation as follows:

> The appointed members of the prefectural boards do not stand up to the local legislators. The governor asked me to be superintendent, and after first refusing, I accepted the position. I was like a cafe madame employed to oversee the bar hostesses. My position was quite weak. When the members of the board

> **are weak before the legislature, they cannot protect education, especially if the legislators cut the budget.[8]**

Recentralization of Ministry power has removed much of the power of the boards in making their own curriculums and in selecting and screening textbooks. Major decisions in these areas are now the responsibility of the central ministry in Tokyo. The functions of adjusting education to the needs of the locality and of educating the electorate in the problems and responsibilities of a democratic school system—the board's original purpose—appear to have been almost forgotten.

Superintendents

Since 1954 superintendents have not had to meet certification requirements. The result has been that the position is usually filled by laymen and retired principals and inspectors. At times, however, as indicated earlier, Ministry officials are appointed.

The post is an important one, since it lies within the jurisdiction of the superintendent's office to guide the school board in carrying out its functions and to act in the name of the board in administering the system.

According to a survey of the superintendent's job conducted by the National Institute for Educational Research (NIER),[9] dueties that are performed *directly* by the superintendent concern (1) relations with school personnel—principals, teachers, and clerks—such as personnel changes, grievances, inservice training, and welfare; (2) negotiations with bodies related to school administration (i.e., local government, the local assembly, the JTU, and the PTA's); and (3) construction of school buildings. Functions such as curriculum-making and guidance are usually delegated to principals, members of the school board secretariat, and teacher-consultants, but the superintendent must participate in these activities and keep informed of what is going on. Thus the superintendent is only in directly involved, for the most part, with matters concerning the internal operation of the school.

The major difference between prefectural and city or town superintendents is that the latter assume responsibility for a wider variety of activities themselves, and thus delegate fewer of their duties. In the larger cities and towns, as in the Prefectures, there are generally teacher-consultants who assist the superintendent in four areas—curriculum, teaching, inservice training, and textbooks. But only 10 percent of the total number of smaller town and village boards have teacher-consultants, so the superintendent of the smaller localities must rely on the principals or do the supervisory work himself. If he has a staff in the school board secretariat, he depends upon them to negotiate with the bodies related to school administration—the legislature, the JTU, and the PTA's. In addition, the staff members are generally responsible for preparing the great number of reports on educational statistics required by the Ministry. Even here the details must be supplied by the principal and his teachers, so the ultimate responsibility for this aspect of administration falls on the principal and teachers in the small local schools. Much of the time of local school people is absorbed in this tedious but important activity—factfinding and collecting statistical data.

When superintendents were polled by the Ministry for their reaction as to what would be an optimum division of labor, they indicated that items such as management and organization of the schools, curriculums, problems of students—all "internal" activities—should be the province of the school principal. The local boards, thought the superintendents, should have the functions of establishing and abolishing schools and constructing, equipping, and maintaining them. In addition, they felt the local boards should rightfully handle teacher personnel problems. The final responsibility for all these matters, however, lies in the hands of the prefectural superintendent of schools, who, with his board members, is accountable to the Ministry in Tokyo.[10]

Principals

The principal, who is primarily responsible for administration of the individual school, is required to have 5 years' teaching experience and to hold a first-class teacher's certificate. He must also pass a qualifying examination, but no longer has to fulfill any specialized administrative certificate requirements. The average public school principal is mature, about 55 years old, with 23 to 25 years' experience in the school system.[11]

His main duty is to provide advice and guidance to his teachers. This must of necessity be subjective, based on his own experience, since he has generally not had any professional courses in school administration. One major complaint is that the advanced age of most principals makes them inflexible in handling teacher personnel problems. That they are aware of their shortcomings is evidenced by the fact that more than 75 percent of a group of 500 principals studied by the NIER stressed the need for special training in school management, educational administration, and finance to make them more professionally competent in their work. To solve this problem, most Prefectures have been holding special training workshops for principals and administrators in recent years.[12]

One modern and successful high school principal in a Hiroshima City high school had moved up from the job of teacher-consultant. He was asked by the author to estimate how he spent his work week. He broke it down as follows: 60 percent in work with teachers on curriculum and personnel problems, 20 percent on budgets and reports (business staffs draw up the budget, but the principal has to sign it), 10 percent in conferences with other principals, 5 percent in work with the PTA president and individual parents, and 5 percent in work with students.[13]

Another principal in a rural high school in Aichi Prefecture spent more time on meetings and ritualistic matters.[14] A week in his job started off with a ceremony to open a fine new dormitory for boarding students from remote areas, built by prefectural and PTA funds. Two county principals' meetings, a Prefecture-wide PTA conference to discuss fund raising, and a meeting with the county junior high teachers (to inform them about the high school so they could advise their students about its offerings and entrance examination) rounded out his week. On Saturday he joined with his teachers in a softball game against the nearby county hospital staff of doctors and nurses.

In the comprehensive 1971 CCE report on education, plans were proposed for revising administration of each compulsory school level to make it a far more tightly structured institution. According to the plan, each school was to retain its principal (*kocho*) as overall administrative chief and its vice principal (*koto*) as director of teachers. In addition to these administrative posts, the new scheme proposed the following new positions: Chairman of teaching affairs (*kyomu shunin*) to serve as curriculum coordinator, business manager, and facilitator of daily teaching activities and scheduling; chairman of each grade (*gakunen shunin*); subject-matter chairman (*kyoka shunin*); and student-guidance chairman (*seito shido shunin*) to direct the homeroom teachers and counselors. The Ministry proposed to push through these changes, which it feels will provide better administration and guidance.[15]

Teachers vigorously opposed this line-and-staff type of administrative organization, saying that it was top-heavy, and aimed at unduly controlling teachers' activities and weakening their Union. Since the new positions were to be staffed by teachers, who, once they took the job, would be given a special stipend for their services and must leave the Union, the JTU argues that the new proposal was clearly an attack by the Government on the Union. By placing some teachers in a higher rank than others, the JTU also charged that the new system would destroy the cooperative relations and morale of teachers and induce them to become sycophants and conformists to win the juicy plums of preferment. Their loyalties, the Union feared, would shift from the side of the teachers to that of the administration, and consequently to the Ministry itself.

Teacher-Consultants

Teacher-consultants are subject-matter specialists who supervise teachers at elementary and secondary schools. At the prefectural level, they must be teachers with at least 5 years' teaching experience and a first-class teacher's certificate. Generally they win their appointment as a promotion for successful teaching, and some of them continue to teach after assuming their new duties. Many also have had specialized training in the numerous inservice training courses sponsored by the Ministry, and a few have studied in the United States. Their positions sometimes lead to principalships, and principals may interchange jobs with them.

The teacher-consultant (or TC) is usually a part of the guidance office of the secretariat of the school board. The Government made a commitment to increase the number of such positions. In 1972 there were 3,592 consultants at the prefectural level and 2,364 at the municipal level, many of whom also served as teachers.

Most TC's are assigned according to subject-matter field. They may handle their particular subject at three levels of schooling. At times their geographic area is extensive, and a visit to an outlying prefectural school may require 3 days by train, bus, or boat. Cities and larger towns have their own teacher-consultants stationed in the local school board office. In Hiroshima City, for example, there were 12 TC's in 1968—6 for elementary and 6 for junior high. Smaller towns and villages have none, and must depend on the occasional visit of the prefectural TC.

The job of the TC includes (1) inservice training of teachers in subject-matter areas, (2) school visitation to help teachers work out courses of study based on the Ministry's mandated course, and (3) demonstration of new teaching methods. At times the TC also edits a prefectural educational journal in his subject-matter specialty.

In class visits, the TC makes suggestions for teacher improvement, but has no control over assignment, promotion, or demotion of teachers, as did the old school inspector in prewar days. The TC's visit is, therefore, not considered traumatic for the teacher. As one TC from Tokyo said: "We are friends of the teachers, and come to help them."[16] He may discuss the teachers' performance with the principal, and he must make a report to the superintendent, but these supposedly are not used to judge the teachers.

The TC is regarded as the superintendent's representative at the school. He must be able to teach a demonstration class to illustrate new techniques, and he must be prepared to lecture to teachers and inform them of the latest Ministry policy. Generally after each school visit, the TC meets in late afternoon with the teachers for a discussion of common problems. If he cannot respond to their questions, the TC will often research the problem and report back to the teachers.

Except for the science consultants who effectively service the teachers through the Science Education Centers, there are still so few TC's that they are necessarily distributed thinly over a very large clientele. Many regularly work a 10- to an 11-hour day. Even so, they cannot possibly teach all the several thousand teachers in their specialty during a year. They can, however, communicate with many of the teachers at the annual research conference.

One teacher-consultant in English in Yokohama described his responsibilities to the author.[17] They included, in addition to helping teachers with curriculum, such tasks as collecting new teaching materials, keeping up with new techniques, working out international exchange programs for students, and consulting on morals courses and juvenile delinquency. The TC's desk work kept him in the office 4 days out of the week, with school visitation scheduled for the other 2 days. A typical day's activities started at 8:30 a.m., preparing reports on the previous day's visit, followed at 9 o'clock by participation in a staff meeting on the National Achievement Tests for grades 8 and 9. The subsequent 2½ hours were spent attending a conference on juvenile delinquency. At 1 p.m., the TC consulted with a principal on the innovative type of Teachers' Efficiency Rating Plan called the Kanagawa Formula, in which the teachers rated themselves. For the rest of the afternoon, he visited a junior high school English-teaching demonstration which made use of audiovisual aids.

The TC's are master teachers and teacher-counselors who generally, within the limits of their strength, do a superb job.

FINANCE

Japan's way of funding its school system is quite different from that of the United States. In Japan there are no specific local taxes earmarked for education. Each level of government—national, prefectural, and local—levies taxes and receives other revenues, and allocates some of its overall income for educational expenditures. Revenue at prefectural and local levels is inadequate to support education, necessitating financial assistance by the National Government.

The National Government

Beginning in 1950 the National Government undertook to provide this needed assistance mainly through its system of Local Finance Equalization Grants (since renamed Local Allocation Tax Grants), designed to balance distribution of revenue between the national and various local governments. The size of the Local Allocation Tax Grants are determined by subtracting the local tax revenue from the local financial needs as computed by uniform objective formulas. The National Government makes up the difference in the form of the tax grant to the Prefecture for all its municipalities. This money may be spent by the Prefecture for any appropriate public purpose, including education, and in fact, is generally used in part for educational expenses.

This arrangement, under which national assistance was indirect and not earmarked for specific purposes, did not completely satisfy either the national or local authorities, so the Government returned in 1953 to the earlier practice of providing direct subsidies for particular expenses—beginning by covering half the base salaries of all teachers in public elementary and junior high schools. This salary subsidy was provided in addition to the "Equalization Grant." Gradually the National Government added other special "promotional" subsidies to local governments and to individual schools to encourage them to improve facilities and strengthen instructional programs in line with Government-set priorities. The subsidies are offered on a "matching" grant basis. The purpose for each subsidy, the administrative level(s) eligible to receive each one, and the proportions of costs covered by each are as follows:[18]

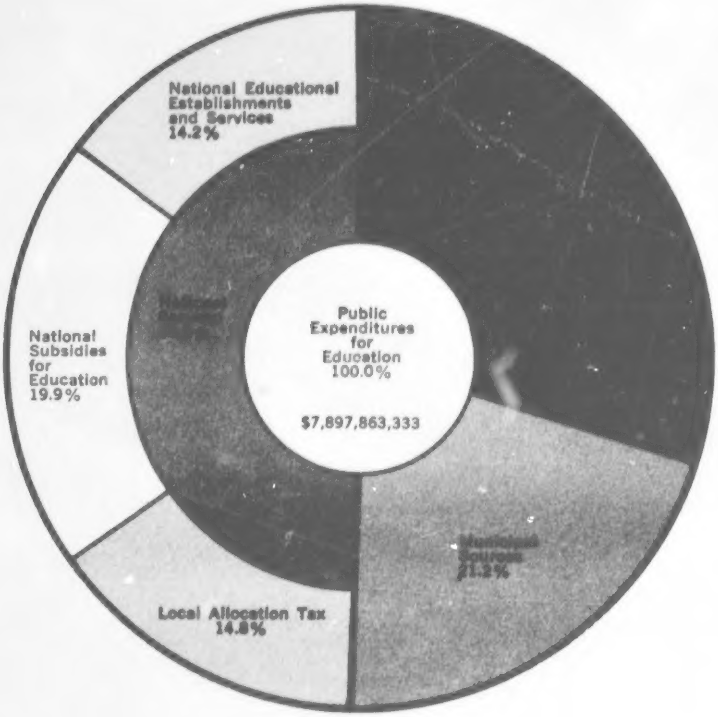
Purpose[1]	*Level of public school*	*Eligible administrative level(s)*	*Proportion*
Teachers' and clerks' salaries for:	Elementary Junior high	Prefectures	½
Instructional equipment for:	Elementary Junior high	Municipality	½
Aid to needy pupils for:	Elementary Junior high	Municipality	½
Science equipment for:	Elementary Secondary	Prefecture and municipality	½
Vocational equipment for:	Secondary	Prefecture and municipality	⅓
School building construction for:	Elementary Junior high	Municipality	½
Gymnasium construction for:	Elementary	Municipality	⅓
	Junior high	Municipality	½
Reconstruction of obsolete buildings for schools for:	Elementary Secondary	Prefecture and municipality	⅓

As direct subsidies have increased in amount, the proportion of educational expenditures funded out of the Local Allocation Tax Grant has decreased. The Government, however, still designated a certain portion (32 percent in 1972-73) of the income tax, corporation tax, and liquor tax as a Local Allocation Tax Grant, designed to minimize the disparities in the financial resources available within the various Prefectures and municipalities, and part of this grant continues to be allocated to education by local authorities.

As indicated in chart 6 on page 277 substantial support for education thus flows from the National Government to (and through) the Prefectures and municipalities. Prefectures in turn subsidize their subordinate city, town, and village schools out of prefectural revenues, plus their share of the national subsidies and grants.

The National Government, in addition to the indirect Local Allocation Tax Grants and direct subsidies makes *direct* financial resources available to support the "national schools," those institutions established and conducted by the National Government. These are the 75 national universities and their attached laboratory schools,[19] the 63 national technical merchant marine colleges, and the hospitals attached to the universities. The National

Chart 6.—Percentage distribution of public expenditures for education, by source: 1969–70



Source: Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1972), p. 49.

Government also renders various types of financial assistance to private schools (discussed in pt. II, ch. 5, under "Private Universities"). When these costs are added to the special-purpose subsidies for local schools and to the part of the Local Allocation Tax Grants used to support the schools, the proportion of the total national expenditure for public education borne by the National Government is almost 50 percent, though in the years since 1972 it has decreased slightly. Of the remaining 50 percent, Prefectures provide roughly 30 percent and local (municipal) governments provide about 20 percent.

The Prefectures

The financial responsibility of Prefectures includes costs of (1) educational administration, including operation of the prefectural board of education and all schools established by the Prefecture (special schools for the handicapped and all full-time public senior high schools); (2) the full salaries of teachers and other staff of the municipal elementary, junior high, and part-time senior high schools; (3) special schools for the handicapped founded and operated by the municipalities; (4) pensions of retired teachers of municipal kindergartens, elementary schools, and junior high schools; (5) subsidies to cities, towns, and villages for miscellaneous educational purposes; and (6) subsidies to private secondary schools for introducing or improving science, technology, and vocational education.

The Municipalities

The financial responsibility of municipalities (cities, towns, and villages) includes partial payment of costs of (1) operating public kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, and other schools built and operated by the municipalities, such as junior colleges and some universities (in the large cities); and (2) providing adult education through Citizens' Public Halls, libraries, and museums. Subsidies from the Prefecture or National Government cover about 80 percent of these costs. Municipalities also pay for other uncovered expenses such as school equipment and supplies.

Parents

When the National Government, the Prefectures, and the municipalities do not meet the total costs of education, the deficit is made up from the funds of PTA organizations, which enlist most parents and collect substantial membership dues and fees. Needy parents are often eligible to have their children receive free school lunches under a special Government subsidy. But the PTA often pays for many other special expenses of needy children; e.g., for the annual school excursion and expenses such as vaccination. PTA's may not, according to a national directive, be asked to pay any part of the salaries and allowances of school personnel or the costs of operating and maintaining the school plant, but they may contribute to the cost of instructional supplies. The cost of textbooks, a significant burden on parents, was recently lifted by the National Government when it undertook to provide free textbooks to all children in compulsory levels of schooling. In 1973, textbooks alone cost the Government over more than 19,098,535,000 yen, or about $63,661,783.[20]

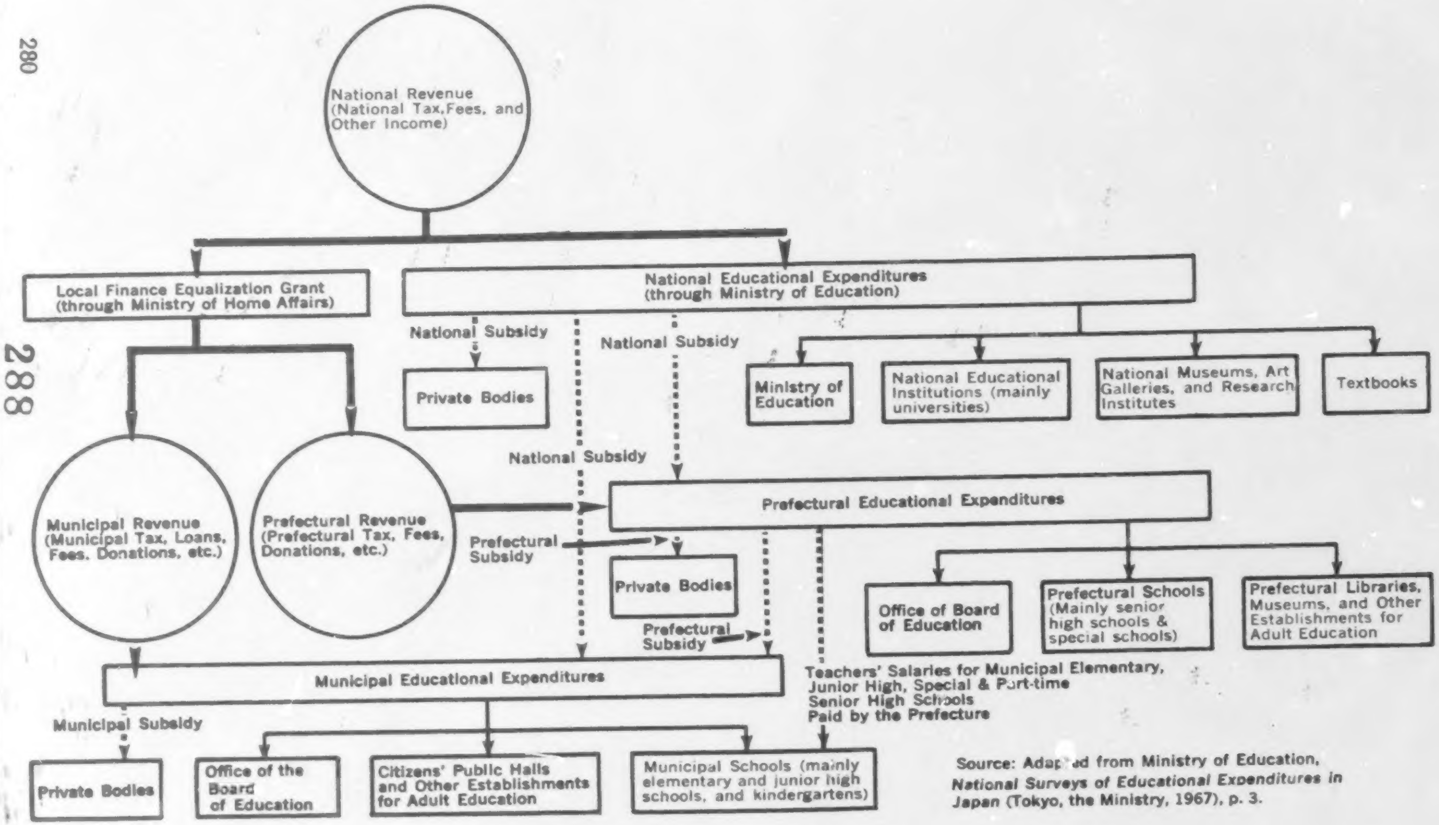
At the beginning of the 1970's the Government surveyed the direct "out-of-pocket" educational expenses incurred by parents of public elementary and secondary students, in order to provide data for implementing the policy of making public education truly free, as guaranteed by law, and to improve student aid programs. The survey included (1) the costs of books and school supplies, transportation, and health services; (2) tuition and other fees; (3) lunch money; (4) costs of school excursions; and (5) club, class, and PTA dues, and required parental donations to schools. Parents' average annual expenditure per pupil in 1970 was the equivalent of about $88.83 for elementary pupils, $117.90 for junior high students, and $229.70 for senior high students.[21] For elementary and junior high pupils this was an increase of 15 percent over what parents had paid in 1954-56; for senior high pupils it was a 72-percent increase.[22] In spite of these rising costs, the Government's attempt to reduce dues and donations encountered opposition from two sources: (1) Principals, who were happy to have these extra moneys, unencumbered, for incidental expenses; and (2) parents, who were accustomed to extra spending for their children's education and accept the burden relatively willingly. They feel that PTA dues may help to pay for a little better education for their children, and give them a better opportunity to gain admission to a higher level of school.

The following tabulation on the 1970 national average per-pupil expenditures by parents and Government shows that about 19 percent of the costs of compulsory-level education (elementary and junior high) and 32 percent of the costs of senior high education were borne directly by the parents: [23]

	Elementary		*Junior High*		*Senior High*	
	Amount	*Percent*	*Amount*	*Percent*	*Amount*	*Percent*
Parents	$ 88.83	18.8	$111.23	21.8	$229.70	32.2
Government	383.90	81.2	421.66	78.2	484.06	67.8
Total	472.73	100.0	532.89	100.0	713.76	100.0

The trend has been for parents' direct expenses to decrease, and for educational costs covered through Government expenditures to increase proportionately.

Chart 7.—Outline of the educational finance system: 1967


National Revenue (National Tax,Fees, and Other Income)
Local Finance Equalization Grant (through Ministry of Home Affairs)
National Educational Expenditures (through Ministry of Education)
National Subsidy
Private Bodies
National Subsidy
Ministry of Education
National Educational Institutions (mainly universities)
National Museums, Art Galleries, and Research Institutes
Textbooks
National Subsidy
Municipal Revenue (Municipal Tax, Loans, Fees, Donations, etc.)
Prefectural Revenue (Prefectural Tax, Fees, Donations, etc.)
Prefectural Educational Expenditures
Prefectural Subsidy
Private Bodies
Prefectural Subsidy
Office of Board of Education
Prefectural Schools (Mainly senior high schools & special schools)
Prefectural Libraries, Museums, and Other Establishments for Adult Education
Municipal Educational Expenditures
Teachers' Salaries for Municipal Elementary, Junior High, Special & Part-time Senior High Schools Paid by the Prefecture
Municipal Subsidy
Private Bodies
Office of the Board of Education
Citizens' Public Halls and Other Establishments for Adult Education
Municipal Schools (mainly elementary and junior high schools, and kindergartens)

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Education, *National Surveys of Educational Expenditures in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1967), p. 3.

Educational Spending

Although the national income of Japan has been increasing at a rate faster than that of any other nation since 1970, the expenditures for public school education have not kept pace with it. Unit education costs for the compulsory levels have kept up with those in industrial nations, but this is not the case at the senior high school or higher education levels. At the latter level, especially, the Government has lagged behind other major nations. In 1968 Japan spent 4.8 percent of its national income on public education—the same percentage as France—but somewhat less than Great Britain and the United States, each of whom spent 6.1 percent.[24]

The funds allocated to education by the Government have increased year by year, but the percentage of the national income spent on schooling since 1955 has declined. Further, the amount of money invested in education has not kept up with the increased levels of investment in commerce and industry, land development, and public construction.[25]

The contemporary major problems in education finance have been—

1. To determine the percentage of the national income to be allocated to education in order to maintain Japan's rate of economic progress.
2. To decide the extent of public funds to be allocated to assist private education, especially at the higher education level.
3. To adjust the distribution of national monies to prefectural and local public authorities so as to equalize the educational opportunities between richer and poorer regions.
4. To determine to what extent capital expenditures in school education should be increased in order to improve the quality of school education and to improve educational methods.
5. To improve the salaries and working conditions of teachers in order to obtain better qualified teachers who can adapt to the new demands of the future.

The reorganization of the educational systems proposed to the Ministry by the CCE in 1971 was designed to deal with each of these contemporary problems.

SUMMARY

At the top of the national educational hierarchy stands the Ministry of Education. It has recovered much of the power it lost during the decentralization period following World War II. Today it is headed by a political appointee prominent in his Party, and administered by a top staff of professional civil servants who are often law school graduates. At the lower levels the supervisors and subject-matter specialists usually are experienced teachers who have been promoted from the field on the basis of ability.

The scope of the Ministry's activities is much broader than that of the U.S. Office of Education, for it supervises educational administration; guides, advises, and assists boards of education; establishes standards; prescribes the courses of study, edits and revises the curriculum; and publishes guides for teachers and assists in their inservice training. It no longer publishes official textbooks, as it did in prewar days, except specialized texts for the blind, deaf, and handicapped; it does, however, screen all texts prepared by commercial publishers.

The boards of education—originally elective bodies when they were introduced in the postwar reform period as a means of decentralizing control—are now appointed by governors and mayors. They are largely dependent on higher levels and have only an advisory function with lower levels; as a result, their role is essentially formalistic. For example, they can negotiate with the JTU, but cannot make an agreement with it.

The prefectural boards run the public senior high schools and give direct guidance and advice to the elementary and junior high schools at the local levels. They oversee local performance, appoint and dismiss local teachers and principals, and pay their salaries. They also certify all teachers for public and private schools. Local boards can offer advice up the line, but they primarily carry out orders.

The chief administrative officers in the school system are the superintendents and principals, whose duties are comparable to those of similar officials in most other countries. The principal supervisory personnel of the boards, both prefectural and local, are teacher-consultants. They provide guidance to classroom teachers on curriculum, teaching methods and objectives, and other professional matters. They are generally master teachers whose job is to aid the teacher, rather than judge his performance.

In contrast with American practice, the Japanese have no specific land taxes for support of education. The schools are paid for out of general revenue from all three levels of government—national, prefectural, and local. (See chart 7, p. 280.) The National Government pays a substantial 50 percent of total school costs, including one-half of the salaries of all public school elementary and junior high school teachers, while the Prefectures provide about 30 percent, and the localities roughly 20 percent. The National Government subsidizes the Prefectures, which are directly responsible for operating all public senior highs and schools for the handicapped. The Prefectures in turn provide subsidies to elementary and junior highs at the local level. Municipalities pay the balance of local costs from their own taxes. In case of deficits, the schools often assess parents in their PTA's, but the Government, spurred by the JTU, has been concerned about the inequities of such a system, and has promised to make public education truly free in the near future.

NOTES

[1] This was in 1957 when the author was studying in the Ministry. The only bureau chief not a Tokyo University graduate was Mr. T. Naito, Chief of Elementary and Secondary Education, who was a graduate of what is now the Tokyo University of Education.

[2] Takeshi Muramatsu, ed., *Kyoiku No Mori (The Woods of Education)*, vol. 11 (Tokyo, *Mainichi*, 1968), p. 189.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Japanese Embassy, *Japan Report* (Washington, D.C., the Embassy, July 15, 1956), p. 10.

[5] *Asahi Evening News*, July 19, 1968.

[6] *Mainichi*, May 8, 1968.

[7] Article 55 of the Local Public Service Law, as quoted in Fusako Kitamura, *A Study of the Japan Teachers Union and Recommendations for Improvement* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962), pp. 239–40. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

[8] Muramatsu, op. cit., p. 191.

[9] Jun Nagaoka, "How the Superintendent of a Local Board Performs His Duties," *Research Bulletin of the National Institute for Educational Research*, no. 4 (March 1963), pp. 25–41.

[10] Ibid., pp. 40–41.

[11] Shinkichi Tsuji, "The Principle in School Management," *Research Bulletin of the National Institute for Educational Research*, no. 11 (March 1972), pp. 43–44.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Author's interview with Principal Matsutaro Ueki, Hiroshima City, May 9, 1968.

[14] Author's interview with Principal Hitoshi Hiraiwa, Azuke High School, Aichi Prefecture, June 28, 1968.

[15] *Kongo Ni Okeru Kyoiku No Sogoteki No Kakuju Seibi No Tame No Kihonteki Shisaku Tsuite (Basic Guidelines for the Development of an Integrated Educational System Suited for Contemporary Society)*, (Tokyo, Chuo Kyoiku Shingi Kai [Central Council for Education], 1971), pp. 20–21.

[16] Author's interview with Teacher-Consultant Motohiko Kawai, of Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, Honolulu, Jan. 21, 1969.

[17] Author's interview with Teacher-Consultant Hajime Inoue, Mitaka, Tokyo, July 25, 1968.

[18] Adapted from Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Ministry of Education, July 1972), p. 45.

[19] There are 38 kindergartens, 70 elementary schools, 75 junior high schools, and 24 senior high schools attached to national universities as laboratory schools.

[20] Figures on Ministry expenditures for textbooks.

[21] Figures provided to the author by Personnel Section, Ministry of Education, Dec. 12, 1973.

[22] Ministry of Education, *Educational Standards in Japan, 1970* (Tokyo, the Ministry, March 1971), p. 169, together with the figures provided to the author (see footnote 20).

[23] Adapted from *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Mombu Tokei Yoran* (Handbook of Educational Statistics, 1973), (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1973), p. 143; and *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Fukei ga Shishutsu Shita Kyoiku Hi (Survey on Expenditures Shared by Parents)*, (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1972), p. 6.

[24] Ibid., p. 236.

[25] Ibid., pp. 168–69.

CHAPTER 3
INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA
AND
SPECIAL PROGRAMS

TEXTBOOKS

Japanese education is textbook centered. The majority of teachers rely almost exclusively on texts; students learn them by rote, and traditionally cherish them. A story frequently told is that the children who lived in a rural Prefecture, which was hit by a great disaster, fled from their homes with nothing but their textbooks.

Before the war there was one series of national textbooks for the elementary schools, compiled, issued, and controlled by the Ministry of Education. No other text could be used without Ministry authorization. There were few other instructional tools: the text *was* the curriculum.

Following the lifting of some of the controls over education during the occupation, many texts by private publishers and diverse authors came onto the market, but they all had to have Ministry authorization. Teachers could select from a wide variety of texts displayed in the annual textbook exhibition. The Conservative Party was dissatisfied with this permissive arrangement, however, asserting that some of the textbooks, particularly in the social studies, contained leftist material unfavorable to the national character of Japan, and therefore it promised modifications in textbook policy. The Socialist Party and the JTU protested this injection of politics into education. A bill tightening the screening procedure failed to pass the Diet in 1956, but the Government, by instituting certain administrative changes within the Ministry, was able to strengthen its influence over the content of textbooks and substantially eliminate liberal and leftist contributions.

The Textbook Authorization System

The textbook authorization system (see pt. I, ch. 4) now in operation enables the Ministry of Education to screen the contents of all books compiled or written by private authors and publishers. Only those books that pass rigorous scrutiny are authorized for publication and offered for adoption by prefectural and local boards. Unauthorized books cannot be used as textbooks in the elementary, junior, and senior high classroom. Since books are used on the average for only 3 years, and since new editions are mandatory each time the "Course of Studies" is changed, revisions must be carried out fairly frequently. Publishers must anticipate needs by 4 or 5 years—the time generally necessary to get a text written, approved, and published. The process of authorization may be divided into five steps.

Step 1.—The author writes the book on the basis of the content outline in the mandatory "Course of Studies" for the subject being treated and in conformity with the Fundamental Law of Education, the School Education Law, and Ministry standards specifying style, format, and organization of the text. And finally, the author must, of course, take into account the children's needs and interests and the needs of society.

Step 2.—The author or publisher then submits the manuscript to the Minister in November or December, and it is channeled through the screening process to determine the suitability and accuracy of its contents, its neutrality in politics and religion, and whether it is in harmony with the Fundamental Law of Education. It is read simultaneously by 2 full-time examiners who are subject-matter specialists from the 41-man Textbook Authorization Division of the Ministry, and by 3 readers selected from a large panel of teachers and outside subject-matter specialists. Both groups render an independent evaluation. To avoid having influence exerted on the examiners and readers, their identity is carefully guarded, and they do not know the name of the author whose text they are evaluating.

Step 3.—The final decision is made by the 90-man Textbook Authorization Council, which is divided into 9 subject-matter subcommittees. Most of the council members are college professors, but they include also one or two lawyers, some bankers, a journalist, and three school principals—the latter representing each of the elementary, junior high, and senior high school levels. All are private citizens chosen by the Ministry.

The Ministry examiners are responsible for presenting their own and the outside readers' evaluations to the appropriate subcommittee. This subcommittee, ranging in size from 6 members for English to 19 for social studies, discusses the evaluations and renders its decision on the textbook's acceptability to the Ministry. It has veto power over the evaluations of the examiners and readers, and has on occasion used it. The judgment is either "approval" (always on condition of some amendment) or "rejection." Few books are rejected these days, but those that are, especially in social studies, are disapproved on the grounds that they have not correctly followed the "Course of Studies."

The Ministry feels that value judgments on recent history, particularly on World War II, are premature and should be omitted. A *cause célèbre* on textbook censorship that has recently attracted wide attention questioned this position. An eminent leftist historian, Prof. Saburo Ienaga of Tokyo University of Education, had to revise his senior high school textbook on the history of Japan in more than 300 places because the Ministry objected to his frank criticism of Japan's position in and conduct of the war and his debunking of the myths of ancient Japan. Some 200 of the country's historians supported Dr. Ienaga in his protest, but the Ministry's ruling prevailed. Although his text was eventually approved, he took the matter to court and sued the Ministry for almost 2 million yen for violating his freedom of expression as guaranteed in the Constitution. He also charged that the authorization system itself violated the Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education, and should be abolished. In July 1970 the Tokyo District Court ruled in his favor, holding that the Ministry had violated his constitutional freedom of expression by censoring his text. The Ministry appealed the decision to a higher court, and thus delayed enforcement of the verdict.

In a second case, Dr. Ienaga protested against the Ministry's censorship of another of his history texts, and the Tokyo District Court in 1974 reversed the earlier decision. It then declared the textbook authorization system to be constitutional, but ruled the Ministry's action to be excessive. Dr. Ienaga was awarded a nominal 100,000 yen for damages. He promptly appealed the second decision of the Tokyo District Court, and the confused public has been awaiting the final decision of the Supreme Court. In the meantime, the textbook authorization system has continued to operate.

Step 4.—Books recommended by the Textbook Authorization Council are approved by the Minister and listed in the catalog, which is distributed to all prefectural boards of education. At the same time the publishers send out to Prefectures and schools sample copies of the approved texts. The boards divide the Prefecture into textbook adoption districts, and also establish a Textbook Adoption Council made up of 20 superintendents, principals, teacher-consultants, and teachers in the prefectural capital. The Council gives guidance to the local boards in selecting texts, suggesting that they choose a single book for each subject, and often even suggesting a specific book.

Textbook exhibitions are usually held annually from July 1 to 10 in 666 textbook centers located in schools and libraries throughout the Nation. They are under the supervision of the TC's, who play an important part in the selection process at the local level. To these exhibits come teachers and representatives of local boards of education to inspect the books. Before they visit the exhibition they listen to a series of tape recordings of 15-minute sales appeals sent out by each of the publishers, thereby reducing the opportunity for salesmen personally to influence individual teachers. The Ministry strongly advises that each Prefecture select one book in each subject for the entire Prefecture, the so-called broad-area selection. In 1967, 37 Prefectures out of 46 made such single adoptions.[1] In the other nine as well, the trend is towards single adoption. This practice, along with the strong "guidance" of the Textbook Adoption Councils, limits local options and tends to make the textbook exhibition a mere formality. As a result, some teachers bypass the exhibition as a waste of their time.

Step 5.—When the local decision is finally made by the board, the titles and estimates of total needs for the Prefecture are tallied and reported to the Ministry by the end of August. The Ministry then compiles the total requirement of the Nation and places exact orders with the publishers. The Ministry also places a ceiling price on each text. Publishers are legally bound to see that the books are published and available to students by the beginning of the school year in April. The books are handled locally through a network of special textbook distributors in every Prefecture.

Textbook publishing is being concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, as in the prewar period. The Ministry has encouraged this, since it is easier to control the situation if the contact can be limited to a few responsible publishers who will be available to come into the Ministry and speak with authority for their firms. Whereas in 1962 the Ministry dealt with 86 publishers, it now deals primarily with 5 to 10 giant firms who conduct the majority of the business. To qualify for publishing textbooks, the publisher must have a large capacity and good credit.

Censorship

From 1958 to 1962 only 70 percent of all submitted manuscripts were approved for publication.[2] In 1967, however, 100 percent of all elementary and secondary texts and 91 percent of all senior high texts received approval.[3] The reason for this change was that most of the texts of poor quality or of radical bias had been voluntarily screened out by the publishers, since they had too much at stake to risk Ministry disapproval of a manuscript. They were generally extremely cautious, and submitted for screening only texts that they were certain would be approved. Thus a form of self-censorship occurs.

Increasing Ministry control over both screening and publication and the "broad area selection system" have gradually reduced the choice open to the teacher. Fewer books are being offered for adoption. While in 1957 there were 80 to 90 texts in social studies for elementary grades, by 1968 there were only seven different series from which to choose.[4] In junior high English there were 10 different sets for the 3 grades, in social studies only 8. The teacher's autonomy and his opportunity to find a book to fit his specific class needs had been reduced.

Dr. Shigeru Nambara, the late great president of Tokyo University, opposed the textbook authorization system as an encroachment on educational freedom, and as possibly unconstitutional. He claimed that censorship during the Meiji Period (1868–1912) was not as rigorous as that in the 1960's.[5]

Opposition has also come from other quarters. The leftist Japanese Printers Union charged in 1968 that "nationalization of texts is underway."[6] The Socialist Party and the JTU, which had once advocated free textbooks, opposed the practice as leading to further opportunity for Government control. But the general public accepted the need for some sort of textbook authorization system, to avoid radical bias in texts and to prevent the corruption that could stem from cut-throat competition among giant publishers.

In an effort to obtain public reaction to textbooks, the Ministry in the mid-1960's invited volunteers to act as "textbook monitors." From all parts of the country 600 people, representing many different trades and professions (and including housewives), applied. They were polled in late 1965 on their opinions regarding the content and format of texts. They replied that the content was too advanced and not strong enough in the traditional virtues such as respect for parents and patriotism. They were generally satisfied with the format—the number of pages and size of the books, but felt a more effective use of color printing and more up-to-date statistics were desirable.[7] Since this was a limited sampling of opinion, it did not speak for the whole Nation, but it did reflect the public's general satisfaction with contemporary textbooks.

Free Textbooks

In 1963 the Law Concerning Free Provision of Textbooks in Compulsory Education was passed, and by 1969 textbooks were free for all 9 compulsory years in both public and private schools. In 1968 more than 100 million books were distributed to elementary students, and roughly 50 million to junior high students.[8] From 1969 on, all children in compulsory education began to receive free texts, at a cost to the Government of more than $50 million annually.

In their construction, the texts are of good quality. They are paperbound and inexpensive, ranging in price from 25 cents for an elementary reader to 50 cents for a junior high social studies text. Books for elementary grades are often printed in four colors. According to the president of the School Textbook Publishers Association, the higher the grade level the less use of color.[9] Most of the junior and senior high texts are in black and white, except for inserted pages of illustrations. In books on art and atlases seven or eight colors are used. Social studies texts are attractive and interesting, with imaginative cartoons, photographs, line drawings, and stick figures for illustration. With the advances made in printing, some of which were developed in Japan, the great companies now have the very latest techniques of platemaking, printing, and bookbinding. Multicolor, typographic rotary presses are commonly used for publishing textbooks, which are printed in large numbers. The process is almost completely mechanized.[10]

INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNOLOGY

Japan's technological expertise in education has been evident for some time. Applications of technology include primarily radio education, educational television, and audiovisual education. Regular school and college programs, as well as supplementary programs such as correspondence education and adult education programs, have effectively utilized the broadcasting medium to reach audiences representing a wide spectrum of the population.

Radio and television media are particularly appropriate for Japan. The Nation is small, has only one time zone, allowing simultaneous reception everywhere, and has a uniform, standard language without any major dialectic differences between regions. Its electronics industry has achieved world prominence. The price of radio and television equipment, including receivers, as well as videotape recorders and portable TV cameras, is the lowest anywhere, and within the reach of many schools. Furthermore, its national broadcasting system is well organized.

Radio Education

Since public services in Japan were traditionally sponsored by the Government, Japanese radio was organized in the 1920's in a pattern similar to that in England. It was a centralized public utility, run by a public corporation rather than consisting of private companies. Advertising was prohibited, and the only revenue allowed the enterprises—one broadcast organization

High school students are viewing the Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation), known as NHK, educational television. (NHK.)

per Prefecture—came from fees paid by the listeners upon concluding a contract with the broadcasting corporation. In accordance with the Government policy of close supervision through a unified system operating on a nationwide network, a corporate "juridical person," the Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation), was established in August 1926. Today the agency is widely known as NHK.

In 1935, in celebration of its upcoming 10th anniversary, NHK in Tokyo began a school broadcast program to reach all parts of Japan. Initially, its primary function was to provide schools with gymnastic programs for morning exercises and a 10-minute before-school inspirational address for the entire Nation's school population. Some nationally known figure—an educator, a politician, or a military officer—would exhort the students to study diligently for the Emperor. Beyond this, radio broadcasting in the 1930's was not seen as being useful for the classroom. Since the schools were dominated by the required national textbooks, radio was viewed at best as only an occasional supplement. Its full potential had not been realized.

Gradually, however, school broadcasting came to be used for a number of purposes, such as broadening the school's instructional program, popularizing the use of standard Japanese, and helping to equalize access to cultural material.[11] Exempted from the regular receivers' contract fee, a number of schools quickly purchased radios. In 1935, 55 percent of the schools had radios; by 1941, 75 percent had their own sets, although they were often left unused in the principal's office. An important step was taken, however, when NHK, after frequent applications to the Ministry of Education, won in 1941 a legal basis for school radio broadcasts. At that time, in the Enforcement Regulations of the National School Ordinance, the Government officially recognized school broadcasts as teaching materials usable as an integral part of school education.[12]

By the end of the Pacific War in 1945, Japan had a powerful Government-controlled broadcasting system, experienced and technically sophisticated. But the army of occupation was determined to dismantle all propaganda machinery, and consequently it demanded the elimination of Government-controlled broadcasting, and its immediate democratization.[13] Surprisingly, however, the occupation at first decided against introducing private broadcasting, leaving NHK alone in the field. The dilemma faced by the occupation was that while perpetuation of NHK as an arm of the Government was felt to be undesirable, so was the prospect of unrestrained broadcasting by private enterprise. Out of this dilemma evolved a compromise: NHK would no longer be a monopoly, but would have competition from commercial broadcasters. It would, however, become an independent, public juridical body "sponsored by the Nation." Supervision would be supplied by a Radio Regulatory Commission, an independent agency patterned after the U.S. Federal Communications Commission.

In October 1945, the occupation authorities, eager to use the excellent facilities of NHK in reeducating teachers and students, requested the network to resume teacher broadcasts and, the next month, student broadcasts. By the end of the occupation one-third of the public schools used school broadcasts. The use of radio for educational purposes developed steadily during the 1950's and remained fairly important even after the introduction of educational television (ETV) in 1953. Later radio programs for schools began to include Japanese language, morals, music, English, and social studies. By 1973, NHK was transmitting 111 different radio programs to schools, totaling 28 hours a week. Since then almost half of the elementary schools and senior highs, and over one-third of the junior highs, have been using radio in their school instruction.

Educational Television

Picture a village school in the Japan Alps. Snowbound for months, the school would be a bleak place were it not for the educational television programs beamed from Tokyo. Nowadays the children troop gaily into the TV room to see the most sophisticated science, social studies, art, and music programs that Japan can produce. At night their parents and other villagers can come to the school to hear the news and enjoy cultural and educational programs, with a mixture of entertainment, geared to adult interests.

In the 1970's, educational television became available in thousands of communities, because Japan's ETV network had been extended from one end of the country to the other. The law requires that NHK (which is a television as well as a radio network) service the whole country. It does so, for the most part, on two television networks—a high-quality, "general service" network specializing in cultural subjects, and an "educational service" network with 84.1 percent of its schedule devoted to education and 15.9 percent to culture. Each network broadcasts 18 hours a day. In sum, Japan—between 1953 and 1973—developed what is undoubtedly the most pervasive ETV system in the world.

In comparison with the United States, which in 1973 had about 238 separate and independent ETV stations and an approximate total budget of a little less than $165 million per year, NHK had 1,706 ETV stations and a budget of almost $400 million per year. These stations broadcast rich and varied programs of educational and cultural offerings that reach virtually all the people.

Government control.—NHK receives no subsidy from the state or from private sources. It is a nonprofit public service organization paid for by monthly "contract fees" assessed on all owners of TV receivers. The fee is a modest 315 yen ($1.05) a month for black-and-white TV, and 465 yen ($1.55) for color sets. Thus, NHK is not a Government organ. It enjoys, however, a close kinship to Government, since its board of governors is appointed by the Prime Minister with the consent of the National Diet. The board has the power to appoint or discharge the president, who is the chief executive, supervising the day-to-day business of the corporation on the basis of board policy. The Diet must also approve the corporation's annual budget. It should also be noted that NHK is not a monopoly; it operates alongside 87 regular commercial broadcasting companies, which, as in the United States, are private enterprises dependent on advertising for their revenue. NHK, on the other hand, is forbidden by law to engage in commercial advertising.

The Broadcast Law of 1950 provides a basis for operation of NHK and sets forth rigorous standards for its programing—standards that apply to radio as well as to television. Since the broadcasts reach nearly every home and school, the law insists that they be impartial, observe freedom of speech, and contribute to world peace. Furthermore, NHK shall "deem highly the fundamental human rights, and try to drive home the democratic spirit." It shall also "work for the elevation of character . . . and endeavor to be helpful to the cultivation of the national spirit." It must strictly refrain from broadcasting anything that could produce racial or national prejudice. Freedom of conscience is to be respected, and religion dealt with fairly. According to the law, "marriage shall be treated seriously and family life esteemed . . . no unsound sexual relations shall be treated attractively or approvingly." And furthermore, the law's standards insist that violence in programing must be controlled. Crime is not to be approved, and commission of crimes "shall not be delineated more minutely than is needed." [14] In addition to meeting these legal standards, NHK has assumed responsibility for "correcting regional differences of education and . . . equalizing educational opportunities." [15]

Program planning.—Programs are prepared with great thoroughness. First, the opinions of various listener groups across the Nation are analyzed; these views come from the 400 "model schools" appointed to study school broadcasts, teachers' regional study groups, and a public opinion survey conducted by NHK. Based on this analysis, the producer draws up a program synopsis, following the Ministry of Education's latest "Course of Studies." This is then submitted to the various Prefectural School Broadcast Advisory Committees, composed of teachers' consultants, classroom teachers, and scholars. The synopsis, with the Committees' suggestions, is then conveyed to the Central Advisory Committee, which meets once a year in Tokyo to decide on the final outlines of the program series. This high-level policy body consists of Ministry of Education officials, representatives of the eight regions of the National Federation of Radio and Educational Television Associations, scholars, and university professors. Under the general policies established by this committee, special expert subgroups of teachers, scholars, and Ministry consultants in subject-matter areas study the year's plan and make further suggestions. Final program schedules are adopted a year ahead of actual broadcasting.

The program is ultimately produced by the more than 100 NHK school broadcast producers, grouped in teams according to subject specialty. (Each team handles radio as well as TV programs, thus making it possible to integrate the offerings of the two media on the same subject.)

NHK headquarters in Tokyo is constantly trying to enlist reactions from classroom teachers. The latter are organized into a National Radio and TV Education Association, which holds numerous study meetings that are attended by an estimated 300,000 teachers each year. At these meetings, methods of modernizing the school program through ETV and radio are discussed.

At the beginning of a school year, a school intending to use the broadcasts purchases the year's program schedule as well as texts to accompany the broadcasts. A teacher committee then draws up and publishes monthly guidance plans for the programs they select. Many schools have an ETV or audiovisual specialist on the staff who helps the individual teacher plan how to use the programs. In some schools, the principal himself is an experienced audiovisual specialist and takes an active role in planning the year's program usage.

The programs.—Most successful of all ETV programs is the "NHK Science Classroom." A 1963 study indicated that more than half the elementary science classes in the Nation from the first to the sixth grades were already using the science program appropriate to their grade,[16] and its usage has increased substantially since then. One of the program's producers, a recent graduate in biology from International Christian University, maintains a close watch on the interests of children by visiting classes among his vast audience around the country. He can tap the finest science resources of the Nation's great research institutes in building his programs, which are often experimental demonstrations conducted by leading specialists who use the latest equipment. The wide world of science, expanding so rapidly, is thus brought to the poorest and most remote classrooms in the country.

Second only to the science programs, in terms of viewing audience, are morals courses for grades 3 to 6, which in the late 1960's reached about 93,000 classes and over 3½ million students.[17] As stated previously, this subject is required for 1 hour a week in all grades of public education. Teachers often resisted teaching it, since it tended to fall into the old pattern of indoctrination in a code of absolute morals and since this subject is not easily taught. To overcome these difficulties, NHK prepared a morals series for the upper elementary grades. The author observed a very effective fourth-grade broadcast in this series entitled "I Saw It!" The moral problem presented was simple. Young Takeshi, a fourth grader, observed a classmate throwing rubbish into a storm drain, causing it to overflow. He did nothing about it at the time, but later wrote up the incident in the school newspaper, naming names. The guilty one was shamed at being thus exposed, and Takeshi, who caused him to lose face, was blamed. His teacher, classmates, and family all felt that Takeshi should have had the courage to confront the wrongdoer directly at the time, and not wait to make a public issue of it later on.

The child actors who took the parts were convincing, and the class followed the program with rapt attention. The discussion period afterward was active, with the entire class waving hands and shouting for a chance to react. One student, especially articulate, when asked if this was a real-life situation, assured the author that it was because he had experienced the same sort of situation himself.

Great differences distinguish ETV programing in Japan from that in the United States. American programs are generally built around the strong personality of a talented professional teacher borrowed from the classroom. Japanese programs are painstakingly prepared by dozens, perhaps hundreds, of teachers, scholars, producers, and broadcast technicians. Documentary film techniques are used and professional actors assume the roles of teachers. Even the "students" in the "studio classroom" are professional actors. Instead of showing an entire class of 50 students, the format consists of an informal talk between the instructor and several pupils; or perhaps a boy and a girl, who act as proxies for the viewers at large, quiz the instructor, and react enthusiastically. The student audience, readily identifying with their own age mates, perceive the situations as real. In one elementary science lesson observed by the author, a comedian indulged in slapstick to prove a point and the children laughed and learned, painlessly. However, at a 1965 conference, a panel of NHK producers admitted that by trying to win their classroom audiences with exciting programs they risk sacrificing truly educational values. The official policy of NHK regarding dramatization is to use it to achieve education aims "by exposing children to the complicated human reactions of the characters in the drama and the piece of real life which it portrays." [18]

The dramatic format is used chiefly to teach history, art appreciation, morals, and English. In an English class studying Dickens' "Christmas Carol" it was demonstrated that the students' comprehension was better when using the dramatic technique than when using conventional teaching.[19] For the lower grades puppets are often used to dramatize the lesson.

Another important feature of Japanese ETV is the airing of a daily "Teachers Hour," which provides information for improving teaching methods and content and keeps teachers abreast of events in the educational world.

Japanese children view ETV with the same keen anticipation as they do commercial TV, which it closely resembles. They begin watching TV earlier than do children in most countries. According to a survey by the Ministry of Education in 1961, by the age of 2, 1 out of 10 children was watching TV fairly regularly, while at the age of 3, 4 out of 10 watched on a consistent basis. By school age 6 they were inveterate viewers. During the school year they watch TV on an average of 2 hours daily at home.

Media-Assisted Correspondence Education

A major part of NHK's educational broadcasting program is designed for a media-assisted correspondence education in which radio and TV presentations are combined with mailed-in written work and on-campus sessions. This program is available to all youths and adults who would like to continue their schooling beyond the compulsory level but are financially unable to do so. In order to extend educational opportunities for these people the Government has made provision through NHK for correspondence education at the senior high and university levels.

At the senior high level.—A working student can complete a 3-year senior high program in 4 years if he has the persistence to listen nightly to NHK's broadcasts (on radio from 8 to 11 and on TV from 9 to 11), do the homework, and attend class at a cooperating school twice a month on Saturdays or Sunday.

The NHK senior high school correspondence program is unique. First, the student enrolls in 1 of 80 cooperating high schools which have been designated as official correspondence schools. The total cost for registration, tuition, books, postage, and club activities comes to a modest $32.67 per year. This unusual program caters to the regular college-preparatory or academic major, although one school offers an industrial major and two offer specialization in home economics. Second, the student reads his texts and study guides and follows the lessons on the air. Third, the school assigns reports to be written on the course content, and the student sends to the NHK Correspondence School in Tokyo, his assignments which are corrected and returned to him within a month. Fourth, the student goes to his cooperating school once or twice a month, on either a Saturday or Sunday, for classwork, examinations, or "guidance" in a face-to-face interview with his teacher. These "schooling" sessions must total 20 days per year, but they include scheduled sports events and excursions for purposes of building morale and a feeling of belonging to an institution. Fifth, the student completes the correspondence course and receives credit for passing three mid-term tests and for the final examination given by the cooperating school.

The major problem is one of sustaining interest over the long period until the required courses are completed. The average young person, tired after the day's work, finds the self-discipline difficult. If he misses a broadcast and falls behind, he is often tempted to give up. In spite of these problems, however, 1 out of 10 starters finishes the course and wins the diploma. At the headquarters school in Tokyo, called NHK Gakuen, the percentage of finishers is even higher; 17 percent of the first class graduated within 4 years in 1967, and 23 percent of the second class finished in 1968. In 1973 over 150,000 students were enrolled nationwide in the media-assisted high school correspondence program.

The author visited one of the cooperating high schools, the well-endowed Higashiyama High School in Kyoto, a private Buddhist school with excellent staff and plant. The correspondence student body, 240 men and women, aged 15 to 55, included nurses, factory workers, shopkeepers, housewives, and one paraplegic girl carried to class on her father's back. Classes are held on two Sundays a month, following home listening. The school assigns some of its best teachers to the program, and they gear their teaching to the broadcasts. Courses range from electricity to music appreciation. A strong effort is made at the Sunday sessions to give the students a taste of the flavor of academic life. At the opening ceremony, on a spring Sunday, they listened to exhortations to study hard, including a taped speech from the head of the system in Tokyo, then sang dutifully the NHK Broadcasting School Song:

> With rosy cheeks and great ambition
> We can see the blue sky when we write.
> Oh, let us be ambitious, you and I.
> Let us be linked, arm in arm, with an electric current
> NHK Gakuen, school of hope.

The apex of the correspondence high school system is the NHK's Gakuen Senior High School in the suburbs of Tokyo, opened in 1963 to serve as a model of program utilization. It serves 12,000 students and is the system's center for research in teaching techniques and evaluation of broadcasts, as well as the institution responsible for correcting the thousands of monthly papers sent in from all parts of the country. Teachers of the school and distinguished lecturers are dispatched regularly to different parts of the country as itinerant teachers. Some students from outlying areas come to the headquarters school on visits and are housed temporarily in the school dormitory. The rest of the student body are employed in Tokyo firms and come in about twice a month for brief "schooling" sessions. A number of companies have an arrangement with the school to send their young trainees there for academic preparation while they give their own on-the-job technical training.

To encourage greater participation in correspondence education, particularly among the working youth, the Government in 1957 substantially reduced the number of on-campus "schooling hours" required for graduation from the correspondence high school course. The reduction was 50 percent for those studying by radio alone, 50 percent for those following courses on television, and 60 percent for those students utilizing both broadcast media.[20] This change reduced the amount of on-campus attendance throughout the school year to about 10 days, or an average of about 1 day a month, thus cutting back on the important face-to-face contact with the teacher-advisors.

At the university level.—University training is also available through radio and television, although offered on a smaller scale than the high school program. Courses have been offered by 11 cooperating universities, which have contracts with NHK. The courses on the air are in most ways comparable to regular university courses; students use the same textbooks. Here, too, students must submit reports and pass examinations, but in order to graduate and secure the bachelor's degree they must spend 1 year in residence at a cooperating degree-granting institution.

Courses are scheduled in the early morning and late at night, so they will not interefere with the working day. Lecturers on the air are mostly from the participating institutions, but specialists may be drawn from any institution, including the prestigious Tokyo University, which significantly is not one of the 11 cooperating universities.

Many persons, both men and women in the 20- to 40-year-old age bracket, have benefited from the broadcast lessons. Accordingly, local stations of NHK are providing guidance for adults in taking college courses.

In order to expand and systematize the broadcast offerings on the higher education level, the Ministry of Education has been planning a large-scale "University of the Air," in which instruction will be primarily by radio and television. An interim report presented in March 1973 drew up a framework for this new form of open university. It will parallel the 4-year, degree-granting institution and grant the B.A. in 4 years, or longer if necessary. Its eventual goal is to provide a full program of collegiate studies in varied disciplines, with a curriculum that includes both general education and professional subjects, both of which are to be spread throughout the 4 years or more of study.

While the instructional method will feature broadcasting, aired programs will be supplemented by printed materials and occasional face-to-face instruction by full-time and part-time teachers in regional learning centers, in a pattern similar to that followed in correspondence high schools. In order to graduate in 4 years, it is estimated that the student will have to spend 2 hours a day listening to broadcasts, and in addition will have to attend the learning center on Sundays or other convenient times 10 to 19 days each year to present reports and take the certifying examinations.

The "University of the Air" will have its own broadcasting facilities and will soon start its operations in a few pilot regions, thereafter extending its coverage year by year to the rest of the country.

Adult Education Broadcasts

Another major pillar of NHK's educational broadcast services is the special adult education programs aimed at the out-of-school population.

These programs cover a wide variety of subjects, including many that are also taught in schools. Because of the importance of maintaining contact with and encouraging farmers, a special farm program director has been assigned to each NHK station in the country to present the "Early Bird" program that teaches new techniques in farming, forestry, and fishing.

Women are another important audience for NHK's special educational programs. A strong motivation to learn, combined with an increase in leisure and a greater opportunity for women to participate in social and political life, has provided housewives with great incentive for viewing. Practical programs such as "Today's Menu," cultural shows such as "Encyclopedia for Women," as well as a talk show entitled "Hello, Madam" provides information and entertainment designed especially for women.

A unique type of special education program is beamed to deaf and dumb children and there are also special programs for mentally retarded and physically handicapped individuals.

An unusually successful broadcast aired on Sunday nights a few years ago consisted of a simple computer course. Almost a million texts for the broadcast were snapped up by companies for their employees, who were required to watch. Large companies like Matsuzakaya Department Store and Yahata Chemical were installing computers at that time and felt the programs could help their workers learn to operate them properly.[21]

Trends in Broadcast Utilization

As previously mentioned, the Japanese use both radio and ETV in their school broadcast schedules. Radio has proved best for teaching Japanese language, English (the oldest language program, started in 1925), and music, where learning is primarily through listening. TV is used where learning depends on visual means, as in courses in science, social studies (morals, history, and geography), industrial arts, and art.

The videotape recorder (VTR), a handy machine that tapes TV broadcasts, which can be used later and scheduled when time permits, has greatly facilitated more flexible usage of broadcasts. Made in Japan for about $1,400, the VTR's are in many of the better equipped schools, especially at the junior high and senior high level. One-third of all junior highs and three-quarters of all senior highs have monochrome or color videotape recorders.[22]

The percentage of schools at each level using NHK's ETV and radio broadcasts in 1973 was as follows.[23]

	ETV	*Radio*
Kindergartens	75.9	23.2
Elementary schools	36.1	39.9
Junior high schools	40.2	34.0
Senior high schools, full-time	45.4	40.1
Senior high schools, part-time	18.7	27.7

As can be seen, kindergartens and elementary schools are the most frequent users of ETV; more than 75 percent of the preschools use ETV programs. All kindergarten programs are in color. Junior and senior high schools, where the pressure is greatest to cram for examinations, rely mainly on conventional textbook teaching, and only occasionally use ETV and radio, both of which tend to be considered frills at this level. With the recent tendency to upgrade standards for all courses—a tendency now evident in the new official "Course of Studies" for the 1970's—there may be a further trend away from using radio and ETV in the academic track at the secondary level. Since the crucial examinations are based on the material in a syllabus that is becoming more complex, the officially approved textbook assumes greater and greater authority, and parents and students alike insist on adhering closely to it. Utilization of supplementary media is thus discouraged.

It is too late, however, to turn the clock back. Technological change and the availability of high-quality educational broadcasts will compel changes in methods of instruction. Teacher-education institutions, as well as the Ministry of Education, are becoming increasingly aware of the advantages of the new media. Receivers are available in nearly every school, and in more affluent schools, even in every classroom.

With their genius for organization and technology, the Japanese have built a complete and effective educational communications network. The Controller of Educational Broadcasting for the British Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. John Scupham, has said that Japan's ETV is—

> . . . beyond question the best developed school broadcasting system in the world . . . an example of a service on a truly national scale, fully integrated with the work of the national system of education, involving teachers in active participation, closely studying their methods of approach and their wants, and making complementary use of the two great broadcasting media, sound and television.[24]

The Japan Prize Contest

A distinguished contribution by NHK to international education is the annual "Japan Prize" contest for educational radio and television programs from all over the world. Its aim is to improve the quality of educational broadcasting. In 1973 the contest attracted entries from 54 countries. The Japan Prizes are awarded programs of high educational value, one for the best radio and one for the best television broadcast. The 1973 Japan Prize for television went to a West German program on health for adults, while in the radio division it was awarded to the Open University of the United Kingdom for a university course for arts students called "English Consort Music." The American entry, "The Electric Company," won a special prize for a program designed to teach reading to preschoolers. Special radio prizes went to three African countries, Botswana, Kenya, and Niger, the last one for a health program for adults.

The prize winning films and tapes are placed each year in Japan Prize Circulating Library collections in five centers around the world, located in Tokyo, Honolulu, Singapore, Munich, and Isfahan (Iran). Besides the Hawaii Center an additional one is planned for the mainland United States. These collections are to be used for training educational radio and ETV personnel as well as for research on educational broadcasting. Programs may be shown publicly or broadcast with permission of the producer or copyright owner.

Audiovisual Equipment

The Ministry of Education has instituted an Audiovisual Education Division to screen and recommend teaching films and to provide national guidance in their production and use. The national and private universities engaged in teacher education offer courses in audiovisual instruction, although students have such a heavy course load that they find it difficult to afford the time to take them. At present, each prefectural board of education and many local school systems operate their own film libraries for service to schools and adult groups. As of 1972, there were 488 prefectural and regional audiovisual (AV) libraries in Japan, stocking 16 mm. and 8 mm. films, slides, tapes, VTR tapes, and projectors, and serving schools and adult educational institutions.[25]

Many teachers make their own slides and filmstrips, as well as 8 mm. single-concept films. These media, being inexpensive and easy to use, are common in most schools. In Japan, where photography and photo reproduction are so well developed, color slides and filmstrips of the finest quality are easily obtainable from commercial sources and their use surpasses that of all other projected material. The advantages of 8 mm. teaching films have long been recognized by both teachers and producers. Good automatic 8 mm. sound movie cameras and magnetic and optical 8 mm. sound projectors are now available, and several companies are producing inexpensive 8 mm. sound teaching films. (Sixteen mm. teaching films have developed slowly, however, because of their relatively high production cost.)

The tape recorder as an educational tool has also made great strides in Japan. Since Sony marketed its "Tapecorder" in 1950, its name has become a household word around the world. Many other good makes are available at low cost. Secondary schools that can afford it are installing language laboratories, using tape recorders and other electronic equipment manufactured in Japan. At the high school level, overhead projectors, teaching machines, and closed circuit television are also increasingly used.

Programed instruction and teaching machines were introduced from the United States in 1960, but because of their high cost have not made great progress in Japanese public schools. Programed textbooks in arithmetic for elementary grades, English and mathematics for junior highs, and mathematics and Chinese classics for senior highs are nevertheless available from commercial publishers, and a few schools are using them. A number of teaching machines are also on the market. Nippon Electric Company, for example, has produced an equipment package called "Electrical Apparatus for Collective Teaching of School Children." Designed to teach a class of 48 pupils, it consists of tape recorder, response recorder, points recorder, sonovision, and console. Private industry and the Self-Defense Forces are using machine programs for teaching mathematics, physics, chemistry, and English.

To examine the best in audiovisual usage, the writer visited 10 schools in different regions that had specialized in using audiovisual education and ETV. One junior high in an industrial section of Niigata City (on the west coast), which had 39 teachers and 944 students, assigned 1 teacher as an audiovisual specialist although all teachers were able to use the equipment. This included 17 portable TV receivers for the 24 classrooms, a broadcasting room with a small-sized video tape recorder and monitor, a schoolwide radio broadcasting hookup, 2 movie projectors, 10 radios, 3 slide projectors, 2 overhead projectors, and 10 tape recorders.

Junior and senior high schools often have their own student-operated broadcasting studios and internal radio systems that enable the principal and students to broadcast to all classes. These facilities are maintained as a club project under a faculty sponsor, with student technicians and performing talent as staff for producing both radio and television programs as an extracurricular activity. One technical high school in Kyoto not only has its own TV studio and VTR, but has equipped a secondhand microbus as a mobile unit in which students roam the city filming their own TV news programs. Few schools have their own closed-circuit television system but in new school construction provision is often made for installing such when it becomes financially feasible.

SOCIAL EDUCATION

"Social education" consists of sports, other recreation, and educational classes, geared specifically to the needs and interests of out-of-school youth and adults. It encompasses what is usually called "adult education," but in Japan the program is not designed exclusively for adults.

Social education was initiated in prewar days to inculcate traditional morals and nationalistic philosophy in the lower classes, especially rural youth and adults. It then afforded little opportunity to pursue studies and activities according to interest and need. Facilities were inadequate, with no trained leadership; the program was merely a meager supplement to regular education for those who could no longer be reached by the schools.

In the postwar period, social education assumed much greater importance as a major feature of democratic education. Both public and private agencies began to sponsor a wide variety of cultural, recreational, and educational activities. The new purposes were—

1. To promote better understanding among ordinary people of their rights and responsibilities as citizens in a democratic society.
2. To stimulate adults' interest in Government and international affairs.
3. To provide opportunities for further education for adults whose schooling had been interrupted or who had had no opportunity to continue beyond compulsory education.
4. To assist adults and out-of-school youth to develop vocational skills.
5. To provide adults with ways to improve their everyday living and to use their leisure time more profitably.

Japanese society has not had a tradition of voluntary agencies. The people have depended on a paternalistic government to provide them with an institutional framework for improving out-of-school education. Only gradually is local initiative being emphasized in establishing programs to meet local needs.

The legal framework for the new postwar social education program was provided by the 1949 Social Education Law and the closely following Library Law, Museum Law, and a law for promoting youth-study classes. To encourage local initiative, the Social Education Law attempted to decentralize support and control of social education programs, placing them under local boards of education. This decentralization, which was not in accord with tradition, soon began to give way to central direction; and this process was accelerated especially after the boards of education came under direct control of the Ministry in 1956.

The machinery for social education was established through the Social Education Section in the secretariat of each prefectural and local board. To work with this section and keep the programs responsive to the community needs, a lay Social Education Advisory Committee was set up, composed of school principals, representatives of voluntary agencies, and prominent citizens. It advised the board of education on all social education matters, but particularly on grants to local organizations.

Citizens' Public Halls

The Social Education Law provided also for establishment and operation of a new institution, Citizens' Public Halls, designed to reduce the "backwardness" of rural communities by stimulating and facilitating public discussions, forums, and other types of recreational and cultural activities. They became a common feature of community life, serving more than 90 percent of the local communities. Together with local libraries and museums, the Citizens' Public Halls were integrated into a common program under the local board. The law provided for youth classes, lecture classes for adults, correspondence courses, audiovisual programs, athletic contests, and artistic exhibits to be held either at the Halls or the local school.

Citizens' Public Halls served as multipurpose community centers. Their goal was to conduct citizenship education, provide vocational guidance, and encourage development of sound community entertainment to improve social life. Their greatest contribution was in remote, rural fishing and farming villages where life was bleak. The Halls filled a need for places where people could meet for a wide variety of purposes. They were barred by law from engaging in profitmaking activities or becoming involved in politics. Local boards of education appointed managers and other officials to devise programs, on the advice of the lay committee, to meet local needs.

The Social Education Law was amended in 1959 to spell out the standards for equipping and staffing the Halls. The new provision required each board of education to have a Social Education Consultant, paid for in part by the National Government; and established institutes for leadership training of social education personnel in eight national universities. According to the new specifications, a Hall should have its own building with floor space of not less than 330 square meters outside of the auditorium space, adequate office space for administration, at least one auditorium or conference room, classrooms, a library, an exhibit room, and a children's room. It should have furniture for classrooms; audiovisual equipment; pianos, organs, and other musical instruments; books and periodicals; tools for shopwork; sewing machines; a gymnasium and playground equipment with sports gear; and a motor vehicle for taking film shows or libraries to outlying areas.

The major changes in the new law were that national and local governments were to be allowed to grant subsidies to the Halls, and that members of the local Social Education Committees were no longer to be merely advisers, but could exercise direct leadership in the programs of the Halls. Although the labor unions opposed these changes, they had the effect of putting the Halls on a firm basis and, in the final analysis, thus served to promote development of social education.

A typical Citizens' Public Hall in a rural community in Yamagata Prefecture on the Japan Sea Coast in the late 1960's had a staff of 3 and an advisory committee of 10. Its program included classes for promoting agricultural productivity, women's classes for improving a family's standard of living, athletic meetings, Japanese dance parties, film showings, and lecture meetings. The Hall also provided consultation services on farming, child care, birth control, kitchen improvement, and personal problems. One unusual program of aid to hard-pressed rural families was the "Citizens' Public Hall Weddings" program, under which the Hall provided facilities for economical weddings to replace the elaborate affairs that had burdened traditional rural families for years.

Unfortunately, in more recent years the Halls have not lived up to their early promise. After a 3-year study of the country's needs in social education, the national Social Education Council reported in 1971 that the Citizens' Public Halls were functioning poorly. Courses and lectures were badly attended; since they were modeled after school courses, they were standardized, rigidly formalistic, and not designed to interest the varied age groups represented in their audience.

Further, the facilities of the Halls have never been adequate. Though there are some 8,600 scattered across the country, only 65 percent have libraries, and only 57 percent have recreational or sports facilities. In addition, only 32 percent have full-time directors. The qualifications for such officers have not been defined and their status is not commensurate with their responsibilities; these factors have been a bottleneck in attracting competent leadership.

The rural areas have been given priority in social education, since originally the need was greatest there. Today most of the Halls are still found in farming villages, while few have been built in the larger cities. With the migration of farm youth to the cities, the need for social education for youth in the rural areas has waned, but it is still an unmet need in the cities. Unprepared psychologically and vocationally for city life, transplanted farm youth become alienated and disoriented there, and often get into trouble.

To meet the changing needs, the Social Education Council recommends that adequately equipped Halls be built in the cities, as well as in the rural areas, and that competent directors be trained in sufficient numbers to staff them. The council looks on the Halls as the potential centers of community life—social, cultural, and recreational, as well as educational. To perform their function adequately, it urges that Halls be set up in districts where they have not yet been established, and that they be equipped with a social hall, nursery, and library, as well as a gymnasium.

In addition, the council recommends that the lot of the directors be improved, with better pay and status. The National Government has the responsibility, says the council in its report, for establishing standards for the Halls and for providing the necessary funds to meet those standards. Also, in the view of the council, it is essential for the National Government to encourage local governments to raise the functional efficiency of the Halls by promoting cooperation between them and by pooling some of their resources, such as libraries.[26]

Youth Classes

Youth classes for working youth were originally provided for in a 1953 law, mainly to give young rural workers the knowledge and techniques necessary for their life occupations and for home management, and "to enhance the level of their culture." The law required municipalities to start youth classes and granted a national subsidy for them. These classes were generally taught by the local elementary or junior high teachers, and were held after work in the local Citizens' Public Hall or in one of the schools. They were at their height in 1955, when they attracted over 1 million youth. But as Japan's economy began to burgeon and rural youth began to flock to the cities to work or enter a high school or college, the numbers fell off sharply. In the cities youth classes did not become popular, for they had to compete with commercial amusement, as well as with richer cultural opportunities. Furthermore, the sense of community of the rural youth was lost in the cities and they were not as easily integrated into social education activities. And, finally, the social needs of those who came to the city to go to school were fulfilled more or less within their school programs.

Today, youth programs in country districts are being continued, although the number of classes in these programs has fallen from a high of 17,606 in 1955 to 5,528 in 1970. Special emphasis is still being placed on vocational and homemaking courses, as well as on the general courses. In addition, most youth programs and organizations engage in community development or public welfare work. Some classes have been established in the cities. The Ministry of Education started "Working Youth Schools" in 1963 for youth under 18, and there were 48 of these schools in 1968, mostly run by municipalities. They were more systematic than the relatively haphazard youth classes. For the 1970's, special high schools for working youth are being planned to provide even better educational opportunities.

Another aspect of social education for young people is establishment of Youth Houses and Youth Centers to promote outdoor activities. Here youths can lodge together "to foster the spirit of obedience to rules, cooperation, and friendship." Some of the establishments are similar to youth hostels, and are used by campers and hikers on vacation. Others are used for vocational training programs and youth leadership training. They are always located in scenic spots near places like Mt. Fuji, Daisetsu in Hokkaido, and the great volcano of Mt. Aso in Kyushu. There are now 10 national Youth Centers and more than 100 local Centers. The national Centers are equipped to accommodate 400 persons and have the necessary educational, recreational, and counseling facilities and leaders to set up and guide conferences and special programs.

The ultimate in such services to youth is the recently completed National Working Youth Hall, a 21-story building in Tokyo, devoted to the Nation's working youth. Dubbed the "Sun Plaza," this luxurious structure, built by the Labor Ministry, provides occupational and personal counseling; facilities for hobbies and sports, such as gymnasia, swimming pools, and a bowling alley; classrooms and expert staff for teaching girls the refined arts of flower-arranging and tea ceremony, as well as cooking, dressmaking, and foreign languages; and a library conference room, assembly hall, and even a wedding hall and hotel. The officially declared purpose is to "enhance the welfare of the working youth, stabilize their lives" in the big city, and "ensure their healthy growth."

Almost a half million youth per year are trained in these national facilities. The Government has also set aside a substantial sum to be spent over a period of several years to build new local youth centers.

Youth hostels, private and public, are also well developed. There is one national youth hostel center and 70 prefectural hostels. Approximately 450 additional private hostels are run by Japan Youth Hostels, Inc., a group with a membership of 400,000.

Women's Programs

Japanese women have benefited substantially from social education programs. With the steady elevation of their status, they have gained greater equality and greater leisure, and are eager to take advantage of opportunities to improve themselves. They have also become more involved in community social and political life. Women's classes under Ministry of Education aegis are held all over the country for the study of home life and social life. In 1971 there were 20,614 such classes.[27]

In 1973 a special NHK program, "Mother's Study Room," was used widely by PTA groups to help mothers understand the purposes and content of classroom education, and to promote closer ties with their children.

Children's Associations

The Children's Association (*Kodomokai*) is a unique community volunteer organization found in smaller cities and towns and serving children up through the junior high school age group. Consisting of all neighborhood youth groups, it is supported by the elementary and junior high school student body governments, the PTA's, and the Social Education Department of the city. The association program is largely recreational, including sports and field trips, but its primary purpose is to develop community consciousness and combat juvenile delinquency. *Kodomokai* rules and regulations exhort children not to misbehave during the vacation periods. Groups are organized, especially just before the summer vacation, to plan summer community tasks such as cleaning up the parks or the railway station. The children themselves assume leadership roles and share in program planning in these groups. The *Kodomokai* has often proven helpful in ameliorating social problems. For example, in a fishing community in Shikoku where there were two antagonistic occupational groups, the association helped bring the factions together by setting up cooperative community enterprises.[28]

Another organization is Children's Houses of Nature, designed to build the character of teenagers through collective lodging and training in a site of natural beauty, where they can study and explore nature. Ten such facilities have already been built by local governments with financial support from the Ministry of Education, and an elaborate building program envisions 17 more.

Libraries

Another prominent social education institution is the library. In addition to the National Diet Library (comparable to the Library of Congress in the United States), there are also university and school libraries and a variety of reference and special collections. The National Diet Library in Tokyo is the depository for all Japanese publications and coordinating headquarters for local libraries in the country. It is also a depository for publications of UNESCO, the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and other agencies related to the United Nations, and the Atomic Energy Commission of various countries.

As of 1966, it had, together with its branch libraries in the executive and judicial departments around Tokyo, 5.6 million books, 30,000 titles of magazines, 30,000 reels of microfilms, assorted records, maps, and several collections of ancient and rare books. Its chief librarian is authorized to assist prefectural and other assemblies, Government officials, and librarians in organizing libraries. The Diet Library also makes its printed catalog cards and publications available to other libraries and individuals. One of its special services is publication of *Periodicals Index*, a quarterly of magazine articles.

In 1972 public libraries throughout the Nation numbered 917 with an average of over 30,000 books. This was to serve a modern nation of more than 100 million people, most of them avid readers. These libraries receive their financial support locally, with some limited help from national subsidies. Funds are generally meager. Tokyo's Metropolitan Hibiya Library, the largest public library in Japan, serving a population of more than 11 million, had an annual book-buying budget in 1968 of only $36,000.[29] In fact, throughout the entire country there are only eight public libraries with annual budgets of more than $27,000.[30]

To compensate for limited budgets, certain public libraries have instituted imaginative programs to ensure maximum use of their holdings. For example, the Nagano Prefectural Library, located in mountainous central Japan, instigated a grassroots reading movement called the "PTA Mothers' Library." It sponsored reading groups comprised of four mothers, who circulated one book a week for each member. In a short time the membership grew to 100,000 mothers.[31] In another town, in Tokushima Prefecture, 95 percent of the adult citizens belong to reading groups of 10 to 50 members. A mobile library distributes the books at the Citizens' Public Hall each month. Reading groups hold symposia once a month to discuss the books they have read, and to select books to be distributed among the circles the following month. Each person in the groups is said to read an average of two to three books per month. The discussion leaders of the various groups have their own regular meeting to study means of promoting reading and handling the discussions. Such reading clubs have spread throughout Japan, resulting in the organization of an All-Japan Federation of Reading Groups.[32]

Bookmobiles are an established library practice, especially in culturally deprived areas. Each Prefecture has several of these mobile libraries; in 1967 there were 181 in the Nation. In Hino, a large housing complex for white-collar workers in a suburban community of Tokyo, bookmobiles visit designated street corners once every 2 weeks to deliver books that apartment dwellers have ordered by phone or on a previous bookmobile visit. With the help of this system, two-thirds of the municipal library's 60,000 books are constantly in circulation, and the city's 70,000 citizens borrow an average of 5 books per year. For service to the many islands along the Inland Sea, the bookmobile becomes a book boat.

In sum, to Japanese of all classes, books are an essential part of life. Japan is second only to the U.S.S.R., and ahead of the United States, in numbers of titles published each year,[33] and book purchasing is even more common than borrowing books from libraries, although library services are widely used, especially in remote areas.

Trends

The role of social education in modern Japan is expanding, but many segments of the public have yet to take advantage of its services. A White Paper on Social Education was issued by the Government in 1965 analyzing the situation and pointing out the following tasks to be undertaken in the light of a changing society:

1. Social education opportunities must be extended to parents, young children, boys, and the aged, who are at present inadequately serviced.
2. Social education priorities must be shifted from rural to urban areas, where so many rural youth have moved.
3. Social education activities must be improved and diversified to match the enhanced educational levels and sophistication of the target audiences.
4. Mass media must be better utilized in social education.
5. Social education should be developed as a part of the total educational picture, and activities of the different agencies involved must be coordinated.[34]

Other problems not mentioned by the Government were brought out in a 1968 article in the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (*Japan Economic Newspaper*). It criticized the prevailing philosophy regarding social education on the grounds that "the government has not yet got rid of the traditional utilization of it as a means of educating the public along its own ideological line." Further, "the public has not learned to use it as its own inherent right." To improve this situation the paper recommended that, as argued by the White Paper, more attention should be focused on urban rather than rural areas; that university extension courses should be opened to meet the popular demand for "lifelong education," especially for salaried persons; and that in the current period of longer life expectancy, greater educational opportunities for older people should be provided.[35]

In the decade of the 1960's and the early 1970's, Japan experienced the greatest period of social change in her recent history. Economic growth, technological progress, and the attendant rising affluence contributed to changes in population structure by bringing about a decline in birth and death rates. Changes in family life, particularly an increase in nuclear families, stemmed from accelerated urbanization. And changes in public attitudes and sophistication were fostered by the widespread diffusion of higher education. As a consequence of all these changes, serious social problems have arisen, such as alienation, the generation gap, crime and delinquency, and environmental pollution.

Accordingly, individuals of every age group are now faced with new and complex concerns and, as is customary in Japan, they look to the National Government for guidance and assistance in dealing with them. The Government has responded in recent years by requesting two major studies by advisory councils to the Ministry of Education. One by the Central Council for Education, on reform of the overall educational system, and one by the Social Education Council, specifically on the Nation's social education program and resources. The latter report, "Social Education in a Rapidly Changing Society," was submitted in 1971. It clarified the expanding role that social education must play in responding to the changes affecting Japanese citizens from infancy to old age. It then recommended alterations in the content, methods, organization, and facilities of social education to meet the new challenges. It embraced the concept of lifelong learning, and interpreted it as being all out-of-school learning from the cradle to the grave. It prescribed expanded activities at the local, prefectural, and national levels, and called for a deeper understanding of social education by the general public, in order for people to take advantage of the available opportunities and join in volunteer activities, and for greater efforts by social education officials and leaders to provide intelligently for the needs of the public.

The report cited the inadequacy of trained leadership in social education, saying that in 1971 there were only 3,300 social education officers on the Nation's boards of education. These are the so-called professionals in the field, whose job it is to advise the volunteer workers and the directors of Citizens' Public Halls on activities and programs. Their status, as well as their salaries, are below those of schoolteachers. In fact, schoolteachers are often employed by Prefectures on a part-time basis as social education officers; they sometimes work as itinerant advisors, bringing guidance to towns where there are no regular officers. Very few of the officers or leaders in the field are specifically trained in social education, even though inservice training is provided by a dozen universities in 2-month training courses and a National Training Institute for Social Education, set up in 1965 as a headquarters for training specialists in social education and a national clearinghouse for relevant educational methods, materials, and aids.

In assessing the future prospects for social education, it is important to remember that the Japanese are almost totally literate; they are insatiable readers; and they are also inveterate joiners. These factors provide the Government with a rich opportunity. Social education can be used either to indoctrinate or to enlighten, but obviously only when the latter is the goal can the movement fulfill its greatest potential.

SUMMARY

In Japan, textbooks have long been the major instructional medium. Though the Ministry no longer publishes national texts, it has, by a complex authorization system, effectively controlled the content of texts, with the major purpose of eliminating any possible leftist influence. This authorization system has been recently challenged in the courts and, though it was declared constitutional, its proper function has been limited to correcting misprints and objective errors and insuring that the texts conform to the official "Course of Studies." The Ministry practice of censoring substantive material has been held an infringement of an author's constitutional right to freedom of expression. Also, the courts have held that public authorities may not require teachers to use a particular text; if enforced, this ruling could end the present "single-adoption" system. The Ministry, however, has appealed both decisions, so the ultimate outcome in these matters is not yet clear.

All textbooks for the first nine compulsory grades are now supplied free—a substantial benefit to the poor. Ironically, the JTU, once in favor of free texts, now opposes them on the grounds that they provide the Ministry with the means to increase further its control over children's minds.

As for other instructional media, Japan can boast the best developed school broadcasting system in the world. Educational radio and television blanket the country, and, given the uniform time zone and single national language, a program can reach the classrooms of the entire Nation at the same time. The programs are of high quality, very well mounted, featuring good writing, attractive sets, and professional actors as teachers and students. Because a monthly receivers' contract is levied on each of the country's television sets, a large and steady income is received by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, a semigovernmental agency, and program directors are thus able to command the services of the Nation's finest scientific minds and technical equipment.

High school and university education is available through media-assisted correspondence courses offered over radio and television, bringing the opportunity for advanced education to working youth and adults.

Social education provides continuing educational and recreational programs for out-of-school youth and adults. Having little in the way of a tradition of utilizing volunteer agencies in the Western sense, the Japanese look to the Government to sponsor special interest groups for study and recreational purposes and to provide the organizational framework for their activities. The Government has responded by building a nationwide network of Citizens' Public Halls, public libraries, youth centers, and similar institutions. Tied as it is to the Government, social education is sometimes accused of being a tool for ideological indoctrination, but the citizen-participants rarely complain. Many join enthusiastically in one or more of the available programs. Particularly for housewives and the disadvantaged—the working poor, the handicapped, and those living in isolated areas—social education programs are a real boon.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 4
STUDENT POWER

In Japan, the term "Zengakuren" is synonymous with student militancy. It is a shortened form of the Japanese word for "All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations." There is not just one Zengakuren, however, but as many as 15 factions, each favoring a particular interpretation of Marxist (or Trotskyist or Maoist) doctrine and depending for success on the organizational skill of its leaders in winning a student following. Even the Soka Gakkai, a relatively new Buddhist Sect, has started its own student group as an independent force in the student movement, nonviolent in orientation but ready to take to the streets in protest against war and unpalatable Government policies.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZENGAKUREN

Hopeful Beginnings

Launched by young Communists in 1948, at a time of great hardship and hunger on the campuses, the Zengakuren was dominated for its first 10 years by the Japan Communist Party (JCP). It was a hopeful movement following the despair of defeat, and it made a formal commitment to democratic ideals in its first organizational meeting. The original commitment read as follows:

> Zengakuren, with the objectives of realizing all justifiable demands of all students of democratic methods and of contributing to the foundation of a democratic Japan through movements for restoring education, shall emphasize the following programs: (1) security and improvement of student life and equal opportunities for education; (2) defense of academic freedom and national culture; (3) thorough democratization of educational administration; (4) security of the right of autonomy of faculties; (5) unification and enlargement of students' fronts; (6) defense of peace and democracy; and (7) support for all other kinds of movements necessary for realizing the federation's objectives.[1]

The organization initially enjoyed the blessing of the occupation, since its goals were, in a sense, similar to those of the Allied Forces. Before long, however, they parted ways. From the beginning, the Zengakuren had to be reckoned with. Although originally it commanded the support of a claimed 300,000 students out of a total student population of 440,000,[2] it was never a mass membership organization, but rather a federation of student associations similar in form to the National Student Association of the United States. The resemblance between the two ends there, however, for the Zengakuren has had far greater impact on Japanese society than its counterpart has had in America.

As different Zengakuren factions emerged, competition was rampant for student support. The stakes were high, for the winning group in a campus election collected all the student activities fees by a closed-shop, check-off system, and used the money for its own promotional and propaganda campaigns.

The Japanese Government was apprehensive about the Federation from the beginning. It warned students that despite acknowledged freedom in the university to join political groups, and even to criticize Government policies, campuses should be places for study and not for political struggle. Zengakuren groups ignored this warning and were soon engaged in widespread student protests on local issues (e.g., against tuition hikes), national issues (e.g., in opposition to Government recentralization), and international issues (e.g., against atom-bomb testing). On several occasions, they succeeded in rallying the Nation's youth in strikes that effectively closed many of the universities. In one demonstration, in 1951, some 1,000 Kyoto University members of the Zengakuren, singing the "Internationale" to drown out the national anthem, surrounded the Emperor's car on the Kyoto campus and tried to give him a questionnaire on his attitudes regarding the new Constitution and rearmament. The University summoned three companies of police to disperse them. As a consequence, the Kyoto institution was closed and eight student leaders were suspended. The Nation was appalled.

There were frequent student-police confrontations, but students were generally protected from police interference on campus by a long-standing tradition of immunity from police infringement on university grounds. The universities as a whole were "allergic" to the police, and faculty often joined with students in protesting police activity on campus, no matter how great the provocation.

In following the lead of the JCP, the rank and file members of the Zengakuren found it necessary to conform to the Party's international line. This led to problems when the JCP, on orders from Moscow at the time of the de-Stalinization campaign in 1955, turned from violence to peaceful coexistence as a means of achieving revolutionary changes. Zenkaguren dissatisfaction with such external policy dictation, combined with its sympathy for the Hungarian student revolt in 1956, triggered a protest against the Communist Party in Japan. The students demanded that the Central Committee of the JCP resign. In the struggle that ensued in 1958, 72 members of the radical wing of the Zengakuren were purged from the Communist Party as extremists or "Trotskyists." They promptly set up their own rival Zengakuren organization, and engaged in increasingly violent activities.

Division into Factions

The first high tide of the Zengakuren came in 1960 when the Japan-United States Security Pact (abbreviated in Japanese to *Ampo*) was renewed. By this time two major groups held sway in Zengakuren: (1) those still loyal to the JCP (whose headquarters were in the Yoyogi section of Tokyo), the "pro-Yoyogi" (i.e., pro-Communist Party) Zengakuren (or *Minsei*), and (2) the extremists, the "anti-Yoyogi" (anti-Communist Party) Zengakuren. The pro-JCP group was more establishment oriented and moderate than the anti-JCP faction. The latter by their mass demonstrations snatched the initiative from the pro-JCP group. But the issue of *Ampo* united all factions. They poured into the streets by the thousands in wild demonstrations, and the anti-JCP faction taunted the police into using force. About half of Japan's university students were said to have taken part in the protests against the *Ampo,* and they successfully evoked favorable press coverage and extensive public support. They prevented President Eisenhower from visiting Japan and helped force Prime Minister Kishi out of office (but not before he had won ratification for the treaty). At one point, an estimated 100,000 frenzied students and others tried to storm the Diet. In the melee, a Tokyo University coed was trampled to death. This tragic event had a sobering effect on the rioters, and the outburst of violence gradually subsided.

The activists felt that the antitreaty fight had resulted in a defeat, and for a time the Zengakuren declined. Another setback was the high growth rate of the Japanese economy, which Zengakuren logic could not explain. When China and Russia split, the Zengakuren factions took sides, the pro-JCP favoring Russia and some of the anti-JCP favoring Mao's China. As a result, the movement was further fragmented. Groups merged, engaged in power struggles, then divided again, until there were more than a dozen contending factions.

Currently, the two major groups stand in sharp contrast to each other. The pro-JCP *Minsei,* following the Communist Party line of peaceful change, concentrates on winning student membership on the basis of such campus issues as improvement of facilities and democratization of the university, making students and faculty equal in power. They are characterized in the press as "moderates" and by their rivals as "opportunists," "materialists," "sheep," and "cowards." Members of the *Minsei* tend to avoid violent clashes with the police, to work within the established system, and to obey official regulations regarding rallies and demonstrations. The anti-JCP faction members, on the other hand, are overt activists. They arm themselves with long wooden staves (which are not legally "weapons"), wear helmets and sometimes gas masks, and welcome a fight with the police. They consider the established Communist Parties in Japan and Russia as Stalinist, bureaucratic, and corrupt. Some members include the Chinese Communist Party in this characterization, but many favor revolutionary versions of Communist theory such as those of Mao and Trotsky. They reject the idea of student participation in university administration, since it would make them accomplices of the present system. They refuse all proposals for gradual reform. Their goal is continuous revolution, class struggle, and destruction of the universities and the state. (More recently, their violence has often been directed at opposing factions rather than at the Government, and they have resorted to more lethal weapons, such as iron rods instead of wooden staves.)

Rise of the Militant *Sampa Rengo*

In 1966 three of the radical Trotskyist factions formed an alliance, the *Sampa Rengo* (Three-Faction Alliance). An overriding purpose of the organization was to seize control of the student movement from the *Minsei* group, which was dominant at that time. A number of violent clashes were precipitated with the police over the antiwar issue: (1) At Haneda Airport, in an effort to stop the Prime Minister from going to Southeast Asia, an action that resulted in the death of a Kyoto University freshman; (2) at Sasebo, in protest against the visit to Japan of the American nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise*; and (3) at Narita (Chiba Prefecture), against building an international airport that might be used by the U.S. military in its war against Vietnam. In each case, their confrontation with the police was always well covered by television and the press, and won for them the sympathy of many "non-poli" (i.e., nonpolitical) students, and even of the general public who were shocked at what seemed to be police brutality. This was precisely the alliance's goal: to politicize their observers, involve them if possible, and thereby win student converts to the cause. The national spotlight was on them, and, although they were clearly a minority, they now became the leading faction in the Zengakuren.

This success in the streets led the *Sampa Rengo* to launch a new tide of violence on the campuses in 1968. Disputes flared at 116 universities. The pattern in each instance was essentially the same. The anti-JCP Zengakuren, generally the *Sampa* group, seized on some smoldering issue and provoked disorder which in turn elicited a hard-nosed response by the university administration. There was often widespread sympathy from the uncommitted students, who joined forces with the *Sampa* in the protest. The specific confrontation issues covered a broad range of problems, from the Vietnam War and the Japan-United States Security Pact to the inefficiency (or dishonesty, in the case of Nihon University) of university administration, and encompassed student gripes like tuition hikes and disputes over control of mess halls or dormitories. In most cases, the conflict began over one or two minor complaints that in the course of the argument became magnified into a major issue. Frequently the intractability of both sides made resolution of the problem virtually impossible.

The usual tactics of the *Sampa* were to seize the administration building, barricade it with desks, chairs, and lockers, and then present the university administration with "nonnegotiable demands" in "bargaining sessions" that might last all night. Administration officials were nearly always put in an untenable position, for many of them had made mistakes, and the students had carefully researched their faults. They often made a poor showing in defending themselves, and the students frequently coerced confessions and apologies in the mode of Communist self-criticism sessions. Eventual surrender by the administration generally terminated the conflict, but if administrators persisted in a hard-line reaction, the strike continued. In some of the greatest universities (e.g., Tokyo, Waseda, and Nihon), the student strike lasted for months, with the students occupying the main administration building and paralyzing the university. Ultimately police support was invoked, precipitating an ensuing battle royal. In Tokyo University's Yasuda Auditorium, law enforcement authorities resorted to tear gas and water cannons, while students retaliated with Molotov cocktails and paving stones. Inevitably, there were casualties. One student activist was hit in the eye by a tear gas canister, and a truce was called while the wounded boy was taken to the hospital. The university suffered property damage to the extent of one and a quarter million dollars.[3]

During the course of these protests, the more moderate pro-JCP supporters were completely overshadowed for a time. In many universities, they allied themselves with the authorities and donned helmets to evict the strikers from the buildings; in several institutions, such as Kyoto University, this resulted in bitter and bloody internecine campus warfare. But the eclipse of the moderates was not permanent. In recent years, the two factions, pro- and anti-JCP, have continued to contend for student support. The "pro" faction, the "old left," was still numerically larger in 1969, representing an estimated 460,000 students, about 55 percent of all those organized; the "anti" faction, the "new left," remains divided into many rival groups. Although the anti-JCP faction represents a slightly smaller group, 390,000 students (or 45 percent) in 1969, they exert more influence than do their rivals. The real hard-core revolutionists, the street fighters, are a small group, constituting only 2½ percent of the total university population, yet they can mobilize 30,000 to 40,000 students in an important demonstration, such as a protest against the renewal of the Security Pact with the United States.[4]

REACTIONS TO STUDENT PROTEST

By the Public

Because the anti-JCP group is activist and militant, it has wielded a disproportionate influence in Japanese life. In the latter part of the 1960's many people sentimentally respected them because of their "sincerity" and "pure motives"—both important traditional values. Although the average citizen did not approve of their tactics, or even of their antiestablishment goals, he often looked upon the activists as "dynamic idealists" dedicated to peace and democracy. They have even been called "the conscience of society." Like American or other student militants, they see themselves as isolated from political power and helpless to influence the established Government and institutions through regular procedures. They justify violence on the grounds that state power is implied political violence, which can only be overcome by physical violence, and that they have no other way to make themselves heard.

A number of militant leaders have been writing books and journals, and the public is becoming familiar with their purposes and philosophies. One such writer feels that they are making a fresh contribution to Japan's postwar intellectual history.[5] He analyzes the main characteristics of the activists as (1) their search for human values, rather than the materialistic values that seem to dominate Japan's present affluent society; (2) their existential faith in themselves and their ability to solve the problem of student alienation; (3) their reaction to the authority of the existing revolutionary parties; and (4) their passion for making the public aware of their problems.[6]

Television coverage of confrontations, which appears to substantiate charges of police brutality, has prompted greater sympathy for the militant cause. However, student violence, such as damaging street cars, tearing up paving stones, and occupying public property, met with strong disapproval in 1969. In a poll taken by the Prime Minister's Office and the National Police Agency, 50 percent of the respondents said such mobs should be strictly controlled, and an additional 36.5 percent said they were a nuisance. Very few people defended the students, while more than two-thirds approved police use of tear gas against them.

Dr. David Riesman, viewing the Japanese scene, ascribed the cause of the violence among students to their frustration at being "locked into the closed society" that characterizes Japan even today. He also pointed to the antagonisms between students of prestige universities and ordinary universities, and between individuals who have to compete in entrance examinations.[7] Lack of trust and group splintering is characteristic of interorganizational relations in Japan, particularly those involving politics, such as the different factions of the political parties.

In a national poll on the university strife conducted by the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* in late 1968, the majority of the general public felt the cause of unrest could be attributed to student dissatisfaction with the present government and modern society. A smaller group of respondents blamed the impersonal university, with its "too many students and inadequate education," its bureaucratic administration, indifferent faculty, and "outdated systems and old-fashioned ways of thinking." [8]

In many cases of turmoil it did appear that administrators had failed to maintain open channels of communication with their own professors as well as with their students. The faculty frequently censured the university system, their colleagues, and the Government. An *Asahi* poll of the professors of four strike-torn universities, Tokyo, Nihon, Doshisha, and Kyushu, elicited emphasis on three factors as responsible for the conflicts: (1) "Failure to purge and democratize the universities following World War II, (2) the outdated organizational structures, systems, and customs in universities, and (3) old-fashionedness and mass-produced education." Between 30 percent and 50 percent of the professors felt that "the students were driven by a sense of crisis" and that students had a "strong reaction against the complacence and corruption in government." A few professors blamed "the alienation of human beings in modern society" and "the irresponsible students produced by the postwar educational system." [9]

Between the embattled administration and the activists stood the majority of students, generally uninformed and nonpolitical, but also dissatisfied with university life and strongly in favor of its reform. They were inclined to admire the courage and sincerity of the militants, and often found themselves in strikes and "*demos*" supporting them without really understanding why. Student opinion polled by *Asahi Shimbun* explained the reasons for the strife from their point of view as dissatisfaction with the conservative government—its alleged corruption, its support of the Vietnam war, and its domination by big business—and with the high prices for which they held the Government responsible. But they gave equal weight to the "old-fashionedness and overexpansion of the universities" as well as the "lack of enthusiasm of the professors and their disinterest in communicating with their students." [10]

By the University

Various solutions have been worked out by universities to meet students' demands. These have included such major administration concessions as granting students the right to participatory democracy in various areas. For example, Tokyo University's Komaba campus (the liberal arts college) agreed to allow them a voice in planning courses, beginning in 1970.[11] Shibaura Institute of Technology accepted demands for student participation in and veto power over curriculum planning, budgetary affairs, and personnel selection.[12] And Tokyo University's Hongo campus established a precedent by accepting a 10-point agreement with students to keep police out of campus disputes and refuse cooperation with them in investigations, and to subject all issues to mass bargaining between the administration and students in an all campus meeting. However, the agreement left the final decision in administrative matters to the faculty conference and the board of councilors.[13] The private universities also agreed to students participating, as "constituents of the common community of the university," in the areas of student welfare and curriculum, but *not* in course grading or finance.[14]

In the previously mentioned *Asahi* poll, 75 percent of all professors favored student participation in university government. Faced with an overwhelming demonstration of student power, the faculty in many institutions consented to student representation in faculty deliberative bodies and participation in curriculum planning, student disciplinary actions, and election of the university president, but not in other personnel matters or department administration.[15]

The spectacle of "mass bargaining" in the late 1960's is etched in the minds of many participants and observers as an extreme example of the exercise of student power. Distinguished presidents of universities, deans, and representatives of faculties often faced several hundred or more students across a "bargaining table." The traditional student respect for the teacher was abandoned in these sessions and the atmosphere frequently resembled that of a "kangaroo court." Students cross-examined, harangued, and heckled their presidents and deans. The student leaders came prepared with specific charges of mistakes and failures of the administration officials, which they delivered in series for hours on end. An accused president was usually asked to "self-reflect" on his past, confess his errors, and apologize to the students. Any attempt to answer the charges was shouted down by a so-called detonator group, after the fashion of the French radical students.[16] Such pressure was too great for many presidents, and after experiencing exhausting marathon sessions quite a few collapsed and were taken, seriously ill, to the hospital. In one university after another, deans and presidents eventually resigned rather than be subjected to such treatment.

By the Government

Student power, exercised through intimidation of faculty and administrative officers and the resultant frequent closing of universities, was a conspicuous factor in Japanese life in the last half of the 1960's. In the summer of 1969, 117 universities (about one-third of the Nation's total) were still in turmoil. Buildings were wrecked, and battles were fought between rival factions or with the police. The "university problem" constituted a national crisis, and the conservative government was determined to take action to end the strife. Finally, on August 4, 1969, against the unyielding opposition of the universities and students, and of the Socialist, Communist, and Komeito Parties, it rammed through the Diet a "Universities Normalization Bill." The new law increased the power of the university president over his school and the power of the Ministry of Education over both the presidents and the schools. It decreed that if disorder continued for 6 months, the president could call a halt to university operations; if it continued for 9 months, the Minister of Education could intervene and try to settle the problem. If he failed to bring the students and school administration together to accept a satisfactory solution within 3 months after that, he could completely dissolve the university and reorganize it.

This strong action by the Government seemed necessary to many because the universities had been unable to solve the student problem for so many years. And experience had shown that university faculties and administrators had little to offer as an alternative solution. However, to Dr. Hiroshi Suekawa, a prewar liberal educator who had been dismissed from the Kyoto University Law Department in 1933 in a famous academic freedom case, the Government's action was nothing short of tragic. On the day the control law was passed he said:

> I feel the same gloomy atmosphere which we experienced at the time of the Kyoto University Incident. It is fascism. There is no longer academic freedom or university autonomy. It will produce a social climate conducive to ramming through everything with authority and smashing things. When the Kyoto University Incident occurred I tried in vain to fight against the idea that everything could be done by force. . . . Then there came the dark university days when the students went off to war. I fear that we may see this time again and I strongly feel the threat of fascism in Japan's future.
>
> From the outsider's point of view there is no doubt that the handling of the university's problems seemed too lenient. But it is because the problems that the students raised were too big, and not because the university didn't have the ability to solve them in the long run. So if the government tries to solve them by force all at once, it is the same way of thinking of those in power in prewar days. Those who were seriously thinking of the good of the universities were against this law. . . . But it is too early to give up.
>
> The universities should close ranks [professors and students joining together] to try really to solve the problems raised by the turmoil. This is the only way to protect the freedom and autonomy of the university.[17]

Dr. Suekawa's dire prediction, representative of the apprehension of the older liberal academics, has not materialized. Despite almost unanimous opposition to the law on the campuses, in the newspapers, and among intellectuals, the public approved of it; a poll showed that 50 percent of the population favored it, while 40 percent had no opinion. Support came mostly from small towns and rural areas, the base of conservative strength.[18]

Conflict on the campuses peaked in 1969, and subsequently the number of institutions involved in violence declined. In general, campuses became and have remained relatively peaceful. Many fear, however, that the accommodation is only temporary, that the real problem has not been solved, and that the students may once again "surge against the universities." [19]

SUMMARY

The basic causes of student unrest in Japan go far deeper than dissatisfaction with the examination system and the impersonality of the multiversity. The dominant feeling of Japanese youth in the late sixties, as shown in the results of the 1969 poll and in student writings, was one of discontent with society itself—its false values, its materialism, its lack of freedom, its exploitation of the individual. Having undergone the democratic education of postwar Japan, young people have not been content simply to go through the forms of democracy. They desire to control their own destinies by direct action. They are determined to change the very root of society—the *status quo* that they see as causing man's alienation—and their solution is uniformly Marxist. All authority that is not validated by their own senses is rejected. The more radical argue that only by taking a negative stance can they produce anything positive. Borrowing a phrase from Mao Tse-tung, they assert that "there can be no construction without destruction." Violent protests are consequently directed against their own university, and against all constituted authority, particularly the conservative government which, they feel, is trying to turn the clock back to feudalism. They demand a thorough reformation of society. This reaction is understandable, for they have been exposed in their schools since 1945 to the ideals of peace and democracy. Many took these ideals seriously, and their protest is against their own society's failure to follow the promises in its new Constitution and in the liberal laws passed during the reform period. In 1967, one Japanese writer noted that—

> The intensity of the student commitment . . . proves that the ideals of democracy and peace have neither vanished nor been entirely modified in postwar Japan. As the loyalty of the general populace to these ideals decays and fluctuates, however, student activists become increasingly radical. Their exuberant advocacy of peace and democracy often leads to excesses. . . . The radicalism of the student movement seems no more than an . . . expression of the fact that in Japan there is too much indifference to ideals and principles, to peace and democracy.[20]

In short, Japanese student activism represented an effort to find identity by opposing the world trend toward human alienation that resulted from mounting political, scientific, technical, and social pressures. It reflected the intelligent youth's response to the human condition as he finds it everywhere.

This is not to excuse the violence—only an attempt to understand it. As Prof. Philip Altbach said in his study of Japanese multiversities, whenever a group is excluded from participation in government, "extraparliamentary" forms become politically important.[21] The youth of Japan are beating against the walls of their closed society. They see no other way except violence to shake the complacency of the university and the state. And although the Government has for the time being responded forcefully by means of the Universities Normalization Law, it will probably find that in the end it will have to deal more effectively with deeply felt student concerns if any permanent solution is to be achieved.

NOTES

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[4] Ichiro Sunada, "The Thought and Behavior of Zengakuren: Trends in the Japanese Student Movement," *Asia Survey,* vol. 9 (June 1969), p. 465.

[5] Tsutomu Ono, "Student Protests in Japan—What It Means to Society," *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan,* vol. 5 (December 1967), p. 269.

[6] Ibid., p. 265.

[7] David Riesman and Evelyn Thompson Riesman, *Conversations in Japan* (New York, Basic Books, 1967), p. 239.

[8] "The Asahi Shimbun Public Opinion Surveys: Strife in the Universities," *Japan Quarterly,* vol. 16 (April–June, 1969), p. 158.

[9] Ibid., p. 164.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *Japan Times,* Sept. 27, 1968.

[12] *Japan Times,* Apr. 11, 1969.

[13] *Japan Times,* Jan. 25, 1969.

[14] *Japan Times,* Apr. 12, 1969.

[15] "The Asahi Shimbun Public Opinion Surveys . . . ," op. cit., p. 166.

[16] "Vox Populi, Vox Dei," *Asahi Evening News,* July 6, 1968.

[17] *Mainichi Shimbun* (Japanese, ed.), Apr. 4, 1969.

[18] Lawrence W. Beer, "Japan, 1969: 'My Homism' and Political Struggle," *Asian Survey,* vol. 10 (January 1970), p. 46.

[19] Seiichi Okamura, "Innovation in Higher Education in Japan with New Trends to the Promotion of University Extension," p. 14. Unpublished paper presented at East-West Center Conference on Higher Education in Asia, Honolulu, January 1970.

[20] Ono, op. cit., p. 270.

[21] Philip Altbach, "The Multiversity in Japan, " *Liberal Education,* vol. 54 (May 1968), p. 284.

CHAPTER 5
THE BALANCE SHEET

Japan's rapid climb to a position of third in gross national product (following the United States and the U.S.S.R.) has often been called a miracle. Economists now credit a large part of this rise to the early investment in universal education in the Meiji Period, which enabled a people with a traditional respect for learning to become completely literate and to master the skills of modern technology.

Restriction of other expenditures in order to allow investment in education resulted during the past century in a ratio of educational expenditures to national income that was generally among the highest in the world. The stock of educational capital (i.e., the total value of the education possessed by the labor force) rose at a rate faster than the increase in size of the labor force, and more rapidly than the increase in the stock of physical capital. Except in wartime periods, educational expenditures kept pace with the increase in national income. Even with the phenomenal affluence in the early seventies, public educational expenses amounted to about 5 percent of the national income and about 4 percent of the country's gross national product (GNP).[1]

An investment in human resources yields relatively enduring returns that prevail as long as the working life of the people involved. Thus, the educational investment of the Meiji and Taisho periods provided the basis for the remarkably rapid recovery of Japan after World War II, since this resurgence was led by men educated in an earlier time and utilized the technical skills of millions of people who had profited from the substantial educational opportunities available during the prewar period.

But the prewar system, successful as it was, also contributed to the people's blindly following their leaders to war. It was this trait of unswerving loyalty to authority on the part of the Japanese that prompted the Allies to decree that Japan would have to shift from totalitarianism to democracy if peace were to be permanent. The redirection was not entirely novel to the Japanese, for Japan had already twice been exposed to democracy—in the 1870's, during the initial decade of modernization, and during the "liberal 1920's." Therefore many Japanese, particularly the intellectuals, accepted the occupation decrees as necessary to Japan's recovery and growth. A retrospective editorial in *The Japan Times* a quarter of a century after the war reflected this acceptance when it said:

> The Occupation itself, galling as it was to a proud people, was the only way the Augean stable of vestigial feudalism and totalitarianism could have been cleaned out. Indeed, without the reforms that were carried out in all phases of life, Japan could never have achieved the [subsequent] progress that it did.[2]

But reforms, in the final analysis, cannot be imposed from outside. Their permanence depends on their acceptance and their internalization by the recipients. In this instance it was important that many changes, especially in education, were received without resistance by teachers and public alike. The called-for transformations apparently met long-standing needs, leading to their adoption by significant groups. Moreover, they seemed in harmony with Japanese culture, or could be considered logical further steps in a process that had already begun before the war.

THE OECD "CONFRONTATION MEETING": 1970

In the early 1970's, after nearly two decades of restored sovereignty, Japanese education once again reached a new turning point. The educational system was confronted with a resurgence of national pride and the conviction that Japan was moving to a position of world influence. To meet the demands of this new situation, a complete reorganization of the school system was projected, and, in order to avail itself of the best advice from abroad, the Nation's leadership turned to an international agency, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), of which Japan was the only Asian member.

During 1970 a distinguished international team of examiners (headed by a former Prime Minister of France, Edgar Faure, and, including among others, former American Ambassador to Japan Edwin Reischauer and Britain's Prof. Ronald Dore) was invited to survey and comment upon Japanese educational policies. The team interviewed some 300 people who represented many sectors of Japanese life and were concerned with educational policy, including the members of the Central Council for Education. They eventually presented the Japanese Ministry of Education with a lengthy report on their findings and observations.[3]

One phase of the OECD team's investigation consisted of a so-called Confrontation Meeting at which the team met with official representatives of the Japanese Government for a candid exchange of views. In preparation for this session, the survey team identified Japan's major problems (which they said every other national system had also faced):

1. *An emphasis on selection rather than on the development of the innate abilities of the student* occurs at practically all levels of education. This

> tendency seems to be, to a large extent, the result of the steeply hierarchic nature of higher education and of the system of university entrance examinations . . . .
>
> This distorts much of the education which takes place before [university entrance] as well as that which follows later . . . .
>
> 2. The second problem . . . [is] that of ***authority and cooperation*** in the educational system. Whenever the issue of authority arises, such as in the relationship between students and teachers (at least at the university level), between junior and senior teachers, or between universities and the Ministry of Education, there is all too often a tendency to view these relationships in terms of power and coercion rather than in terms of mutual consent and cooperation . . . .
> 3. The final problem [is] . . . the ***"value problem" in education.*** This problem has appeared wherever there has been a transition from an officially enforced system of traditional values and beliefs to a more open and pluralistic system of values. Such a change occurred in Japan in the late forties, and Japanese society now faces the first generation which grew up under these new conditions.
>
> No society can claim to have found a satisfactory answer to the problem of moral education in a secular society with pluralistic values. But there seems to exist in Japan a condition which makes this problem particularly acute. Differences in values seem to be more readily identified with political party interest in Japan than in the majority of the Western countries . . . .
>
> * * * * *
>
> the swift movement of Japanese society generates new values which challenge accepted ones, and, therefore, the aim of education is to develop autonomous people who can exercise judgment.[4]

In response to this presentation, the Japanese Government, so often the target of somewhat similar criticism from the JTU, the Zengakuren, and Japanese liberals and leftists in general, took the occasion to state its case as forcefully as possible. Since this was an official statement of Government attitudes, it is worthwhile to examine it in some detail. The then Vice Minister of Education, Mr. Isao Amagi, was the Ministry spokesman in explaining these problems to the OECD survey team and in answering their questions.

In reply to the first charge that Japan emphasized *selection* rather than *development of abilities*, Mr. Amagi attributed this situation to the country's experience in the century of modernization and the people's strong achievement orientation and competitiveness from the beginning of this period. During the Meiji period, he said, selection by examination on the basis of ability actually promoted social mobility and recruited, fairly and efficiently, talented individuals from all social classes who were needed in the modernization process. The system had thus served the country well, but it did, he agreed, encourage competitiveness and a system in which "objective fairness [sic] was overemphasized at the expense of the function of developing individual potentialities." He went on to say that "in past decades various efforts were made to improve the entrance examinations, but satisfactory improvement has not been achieved up to today." [5]

The Ministry spokesman continued: "The social evaluation of the old universities is gradually changing, and there are arising some new universities of high quality. For jobs, actual abilities are becoming more important than school degrees." [6] The implication of his remarks seemed to be that if employers and society in general place less reliance on the label of a prestige university in job recruitment, there will be less pressure on the university to select by examination, and it will be possible to introduce other means of selection that will be more effective in recognizing true talent.

The second problem raised by the OECD group, that of an authoritarian climate and the *failure in cooperation between groups*, stemmed, in Mr. Amagi's view, from the "competitive feuding" in the "closed society" of traditional Japan. In an effort to overcome the socioeconomic gap between Japan and the West and to build a modern nation following the Restoration, the Meiji leaders had set up a highly centralized government. "These historical facts," said the Vice Minister, "are the basis for the inclination to regard the State as the source of authority and to think that the authority is always coupled with power." Developing the point, he continued:

> After the end of the Second World War [the] Japanese political structure changed greatly, and respect for individuals and freedom was instituted both in society and politics. These changes together with the unpleasant memories of the government which imposed rigid uniformity upon the people before and militant power during the war make some people [today] inclined to view the government and its power as coercive. . . . [They] think that to cooperate means surrender of their freedom to governmental authority. Therefore, frequently there are cases where the opponents criticize governmental ideas or reject cooperation primarily to show off their independence even where there are no major differences of opinion. . . . The [OECD] examiners refer to the lack of communication [between the government and educational groups]. We recognize that and think that communication should be improved. We strongly hope that those [critics] who are concerned with education will become aware that [the] recognition of due authority [i.e., responsibility] to maintain social order and tradition, respect of individuals and freedom, and cooperation for common goals are not three contradictory elements, but that harmony of the three elements is both possible and indispensible for educational development.[7]

Alluding to the Government's attitude toward the third problem identified by the OECD team, that of *values* and *morals*, Mr. Amagi said in part:

> We also believe that diversity of values is the foundation for the development of a sound democratic society. At the same time it is our understanding that [a] social norm common to all is required to enable free individuals with different values to coexist in a community and to cooperate peacefully . . . . 'The social norm' here means a basic ethic and code of behavior for life in a democratic society.
>
> The [OECD] examiners say that there is a tendency in Japan to confuse education [in] values with political indoctrination. The situation is deeply connected with the existence of a feeling of resistance to authority and of ideological antagonism that I have already mentioned. . . . The government has unchangedly kept the policy not to bring political indoctrination into

> education. However, attacks [on the educational system] from the leftists have been stronger than those from the rightists. This climate still exists today.
>
> . . . We believe that it is important that . . . history should be taught on the basis of objective facts . . . free from any prejudice. . . . Nevertheless, the administrative actions for protecting this objectivity in public education [e.g., the setting up of textbook screening machinery in the Ministry] are often condemned by those people who are opposed to governmental authority which they view as an instrument of political indoctrination in favor of the party in power.[8]

Using the three problems as a framework, the OECD survey team posed a series of six more specific problems or questions for the Ministry, documenting them with extended observations and recommendations. A summary (including some quotes) of each OECD statement and/or questions and Mr. Amagi's answer follows.

Problem 1
University Autonomy and Diversification
vs.
Control and Hierarchy

OECD statement.—The Central Council for Education has proposed that the public and national universities be reconstituted as autonomous corporations, somewhat like the private universities. All these autonomous institutions, including the private universities, would then share in the national financing of higher education and under coordinated national development would assume similar status. Under the CCE proposal, each university would be encouraged to diversify since, as the Council phrases it, "Only by such a genuine diversification, creating many types of excellent institutions, could the present narrow hierarchy of universities be replaced." [9]

OECD questions.—What will this proposed autonomy consist of? How free will the universities be in disposing of their budgets, in determining their curriculums, in establishing new combinations of disciplines and new academic awards? To whom will the universities be accountable? In short, will the Government abstain from using its fiscal and legal power and instead allow the universities to exercise their own initiative in becoming truly diversified institutions?

Mr. Amagi's answer.—Under the CCE proposal, national universities will lose their special status as semigovernmental agencies and become, with the other public and private institutions, independent corporations. The "incorporated universities shall be given substantial autonomy in terms of administrative governance and finance. The Government is to give them a total sum of necessary expenses figured out on a certain standard and is not to give any detailed direction [in budgeting or expending the funds] except [to require] periodic reviews." [10]

As for the prospects for diversifying the universities, with each having its own special characteristics, "I am afraid of the [continuing] danger of uniformity since it is quite possible for many universities to desire to come as close as possible to the university which is presumed to have the highest prestige [i.e., Tokyo University]." Allowing each university to specialize according to its own desires will not necessarily "result in the well-balanced picture of national higher education." The government does intend to liberalize the present "Criteria for Establishing Universities," which at present requires too uniform a pattern, to allow for the creation of new types of universities and institutes in accordance with the national master plan.[11]

Problem 2

Development of the Individual vs. Social Selection

OECD question.—"To what extent is there agreement on this commitment to the educational goal of the effective development of individuals rather than to the goal of education for social selection?" [12]

Mr. Amagi's answer.—"In principal, nobody disagrees with it, though there is always some opposition, whenever a reform focused on this point becomes an issue at stake. The Central Council for Education considers the implementation of this goal to be one of the most important objectives for future educational reform. There are voices however to oppose . . . this movement. . . . Also with regard to the reform of university entrance examinations there often appears opposition among the universities that are afraid of losing their vested interests by the reform, and among the parents and students who do not wish to destroy the existing hierarchy in education. It takes a long time to reach consent on the matter. We aim at establishing a diversified educational system to meet different abilities and aptitudes of individuals and at the same time to prevent specific courses from becoming dead alleys. . . . Our aim is to secure for all the people the opportunity of advancing to education of a higher level." [13]

Problem 3

Development of Values vs. Political Indoctrination

OECD statement.—"A distinction can be made between education for the development of values and political indoctrination through education. . . . There needs to be enough uniformity to preserve the cohesion of society and to permit relatively easy movement among schools. On the other hand, when uniformity is achieved through central government control it always entails the danger that the government in power . . . may use its control to enforce a conformity designed primarily to perpetuate its rule. In such an event both the government and its opposition may tend to see education in terms of its potential for political indoctrination and the common commitment to develop people who can accommodate a diversity of values suffers. This issue seems to lie behind recent public discussions on the problem of the [Ministry-mandated] curriculum guides and the textbook licensing system by which the Japanese Government seems to put an emphasis on uniformity at the expense of diversity:"

OECD question.—"What efforts are made by the Ministry of Education to see that education for understanding and appreciation of values is not to be confused with political indoctrination through education, either by government or by others?

"In the process of any such efforts, how is the cooperation of various participants in education—teachers, local authorities, students, parents, etc.—being sought? . . . Are there special circumstances in the Japanese situation which would justify an emphasis on uniformity?" [14]

Mr. Amagi's answer.—"Before giving a direct answer . . . I should like to present my opinion on the matter of uniformity and diversity . . . lest there might be a vital misunderstanding of Japanese educational policy. The powers which the Japanese Government has . . . that influence the content of education to some extent are [1] to set up Courses of Study as a standard for curriculum, [2] to endorse textbooks to be used in schools, and [3] to set up the standards for teachers' licenses. What the Government intends to produce by setting up the Courses of Study is not the uniformity of Japanese education, but . . . a common basis indispensable in public education. It is . . . [in order] to secure a minimum standard of educational quality . . . [i.e.,] equality of education. . . . There is a need for fundamental elements common to all the fellow countrymen. . . . First, unprejudiced transmission of the national cultural heritage from generation to generation is required. It is also necessary to define a minimum common code of behavior in social life . . . in order to make possible the coexistence of various values in peace. To secure such a common basis of cultural heritage and moral behavior [is not contrary to] the recognition of diversity. . . . Education for various values in the schools can be assured by providing [a special] course of study [i.e., morals] designed for that purpose. [This] . . . is entirely opposite to indoctrination with a single political color.

"The Courses of Study define central objectives and the minimum requirements in each subject. [They do not provide] a detailed prescription of curriculum in schools. Curriculums are made in each school in accordance with the characteristics of the pupils and the regional environment. [The] teachers' creativeness and devices are . . . [relied on ultimately in] making the curriculum.

"Now . . . to answer the question as to what efforts the Ministry of Education has made to avoid the confusion of education for values and for political indoctrination. Our Fundamental Law of Education prohibits making use of education to support or oppose political parties, of course including the party in power. Following the spirit of the Law, the Ministry has kept continuously giving administrative guidance to the Nation's teachers that ideological doctrines should not be brought into classrooms no matter what conviction an individual teacher personally or the union may have." [15]

Problem 4

Communications

OECD statement.—In the numerous public hearings held by the survey team around Japan, the most pervasive observation of the examiners was that there was "an extraordinary blockage in communication": "The examiners found that the Ministry of Education is as reform-minded . . . as any similar Ministry in the world. And they found that professors here have probably as much feeling of responsibility towards the junior academic staff and the students as other professors. Yet they also met almost without exception teachers who feel that the Ministry is an immovable block of power, which would never listen to the views and ideas of the school teachers, and there are expressed similar feelings about the junior staff towards their seniors, or among the students toward university authorities as a whole." [16]

OECD question.—"Is this problem perceived by the educational authorities as serious enough to warrant sustained efforts toward its remedy? What further efforts are envisaged?" [17]

Mr. Amagi's answer.—"I frankly agree that the shortcoming of communication pointed out by the examiners is a serious obstacle to the promotion of a reform based upon a broad consensus of all the people." But as evidence that the Ministry is trying to improve communication it may be noted that the Central Council for Education has interviewed representatives of more than 70 organizations concerned with education, held five public hearings, and sent questionnaires to all university professors. He said that such consultation with the public will continue as the reform plans are unveiled, in an effort to enlist cooperation in carrying them out.

For the improvement of university examinations, too, the Ministry has tried to bring the universities and the high schools together to exchange views. And some of the universities have invited student participation in determining the curriculum. The channels of communication are being somewhat opened.

Nevertheless, "it needs positive effort from both sides to have better communication. If the other party concerned sticks to an idea solely in favor of its own interests and never changes its antigovernmental prejudice, it cannot expect to have sound communication." [18]

Problem 5

Financing

OECD question.—What will be the sources of financial support for the many reforms proposed by the CCE and the Ministry? Will financial support for implementing them come from public or private sectors?

Mr. Amagi's answer.—"As for the necessary resources, if the Japanese economy continues its steady growth, there will be sufficient resources for education without making a substantial change in the proportion of expenditures for education in the GNP." [19]

Problem 6

Implementation

OECD question.—What prospects are there that the proposed reforms will be put into effect in the near future?

Mr. Amagi's answer.—The CCE is studying what specific measures to recommend for a thoroughgoing reorganization of education from top to bottom.

The measures referred to by Mr. Amagi (concerning Problem 6) were subsequently announced in summer 1971.

Summarizing its observations on the subject of needed reforms, the OECD team pointed out that while the extent of Japan's investment in primary and secondary education approximated that of other modern nations in the effort to make these levels "among the most effective in the world," support of higher education, and particularly of basic and applied research, was notably weak. "At the present stage when Japan stands in the forefront of industry and science in the world, further healthy development of her industry and society may require a greater proportionate effort in the fields of higher education and applied research." [20]

As will be apparent to the reader from the foregoing, the OECD team's inquiry and the resultant candid "confrontation meeting" discussion between the team and representatives of the Japanese Government served to define and illuminate many of the most pressing current issues in the area of Japanese education, as seen by a group of foreign observers. Anyone interested in exploring more deeply the contemporary educational scene in Japan would do well to examine the detailed record of that investigation, of which only a small portion is presented here.

AN APPRAISAL

In conclusion, it may be useful to draw up a balance sheet on the current status of the Japanese educational system.

Credits

Popular support for education.—The doors of educational opportunity are open wider than ever before, and the educational system has shown continuous expansion and improvement, to the point that at a given time almost one-fourth of the population are benefiting from its services in one way or another. The general public, which places a high value on education, encourages and supports programs to improve the quantity and quality of instruction at all levels. The extension of compulsory education upwards by 3 years, introduced during the occupation, was in accordance with plans already afoot before the war, and was welcomed. It is unlikely that the trend of increasing emphasis on education will be reversed. Rather, with more and more children attending preschool and senior high school, there is growing support for making both of these levels compulsory, providing free public education for all children and youth from age 4 to age 18. This change has been proposed to the Prime Minister by the head of the National Institute for Educational Research,[21] and the inclusion of 4- and 5-year olds in the compulsory system is a major target of the reform program proposed by the CCE in June 1971.[22] At the university level, the pressure of applicants is so great that the Government must constantly expand enrollment quotas and permit new departments and new universities (mostly private) to open. As Ambassador Reischauer said in 1964, "Probably in no country is there a greater popular desire for higher education than in Japan." [23]

Increased coeducation. —A drastic reform in Confucian-oriented Japan, coeducation at all levels has increased educational opportunity for girls. At the elementary and secondary levels they enjoy almost complete equality with boys. With the expansion of junior colleges, which have been almost taken over by women, and with greater social acceptance of women in many professions besides teaching, there is gradually increasing parity between the sexes at the higher education level.

Democracy in the schools.—Democracy has entered the classroom, particularly at the elementary and junior high levels. Pupils express themselves freely, and there is more social and community involvement by students than before the war. At home as well as at school, parents report that children "have come to speak candidly for the first time . . . and have shrewd opinions of their own on the community." [24] As R.P. Dore says, "it seems safe to say that the products of postwar schools, as compared to their fathers, are *more* like citizens than subjects, are *better* capable of forming political opinions . . . and are more certain of their right to hold and express such opinions." [25]

Most schools have a form of student government, with a measure of autonomy unknown before. Many homerooms in junior and senior high schools are organized democratically and often function according to parliamentary procedure. At the higher level, students are fearlessly vocal in public (though rarely in the classroom). Controversy and criticism are aired over radio and television as freely as in any democratic nation. Academic freedom is guaranteed in the Constitution, and in normal times is a cherished reality in the universities. According to a 1958 survey made by a Stanford-Tokyo University team, postwar-trained elementary teachers have generally accepted the democratic philosophy of education.[26] Dean Emeritus Kaigo of Tokyo University, who helped direct the Stanford-Tokyo study, says that the team also found that the old authoritarian attitudes of elementary and junior high teachers, so common in prewar days, have been greatly changed, moving towards more democratic attitudes.[27]

Inservice opportunities.—Japanese teachers are interested in self-improvement, and keep up with the new developments in science and mathematics, especially those in the United States, through their professional associations. Teacher study groups are constantly at work in the schools, and research conferences are held regularly on the local, prefectural, and national levels, sponsored by both the Ministry and the Japan Teachers Union.

The Science Education Centers, which give inservice training to thousands of elementary and secondary teachers each year, are an innovation that other nations might well emulate. One American observer has recently described the Japan of today as being "flexible and intellectually open-ended," despite the tendency, which he also observed, of the older conservative elements to seek to return to the ideological patterns of the past.[28]

High teacher status.—Compared to their counterparts in the teaching profession around the world, teachers in Japan have high status. Despite the JTU's identification of teachers with laborers, the older, more traditional parents still look up to them with a sense of respect, even of awe. Although many feel they are not paid enough, teachers are nevertheless fairly well compensated relative to other Government workers and to workers in medium-scale private companies in Japan. Their interests are protected by the National Personnel Authority, which sees to it that their salaries are reasonably commensurate with the constantly rising cost of living and competing levels of remuneration in private industry. Government welfare provisions are generous, providing, for example, 2 years of sick leave with full pay if an employee contracts tuberculosis, and 3 months' maternity leave before and after childbirth.

Teacher education.—Teachers are in general exceptionally well qualified, most of them having a 4-year university education, including professional education, and being fully certified. Less than 2 percent are inadequately prepared, a striking figure in comparison with the rest of Asia. Women teachers have equality of salary and treatment with men and are outnumbering men at the elementary level, in contrast to prewar days when men predominated.

Teacher performance.—Japanese teachers, both men and women, are perceived by foreign observers as particularly hard-working and dedicated. The facts bear out this impression. Elementary teachers spend an average of more than 60 hours a week on the job, and secondary teachers 56 hours. Much more is expected of them than of American teachers. They are considered responsible for their students' behavior both in and out of school, and even during vacations. In the crucial area of examinations, parents assume that the teachers have a personal responsibility for getting their children over the hurdle of the next entrance examination and into an appropriate school. Homeroom teachers, particularly, serve as personal as well as academic counselors, making direct contact with the home and following their students' careers with concern even after the students have graduated.

Teacher organization.—Although the Ministry refuses to recognize their right to bargain collectively or to strike, a majority of Japanese teachers (596,200 in 1973) are organized in the nationwide Japan Teachers Union, which they feel is necessary to represent their interests in relation to the National Government. The limits placed on their bargaining power have resulted in constant conflict between the JTU and the Ministry of Education, often at the expense of the children's education. Particularly disturbing in the last few years has been the controversy over teacher rating and achievement testing, issues that remain unresolved. The problems arising out of the centralization of power in a Ministry of Education are a constant concern in Japan, as they are in various other countries.

Public interest.—The Japanese public involves itself in educational affairs to a greater degree than the general public in most countries of the world. One channel for this participation is provided by the PTA which, with about 20 million members (one-fifth of the national population), is active in every school. It is organized on neighborhood and city levels, as well as on prefectural and national levels. Various other volunteer agencies are also deeply involved in school education. Although parents, especially in rural areas, rarely consider it their prerogative to interfere directly with school policies, leaving the actual operation of schools largely in the hands of professional educators, they still reserve the right to know what is going on and to criticize. Education receives a great amount of news space in the media, and public opinion polls indicate that the adult populace is generally satisfied with the schools and (as in many countries) is glad to pass on to the school many of the burdensome responsibilities that would otherwise fall upon the home.

Debits

The shift toward nationalism.—From the viewpoint of teachers, political liberals, intellectuals, leftist parties, and young people, recent Government policy in education in Japan has exhibited a decided swing to the right. The evidence cited in support of this view stresses the recent moves of the Ministry of Education to return to plans for centralizing control of curriculum and textbooks, for teaching the myths and legends of ancient Japan in the compulsory years, and for promoting "national defense consciousness." A Socialist member of the Diet's House of Councilors questioned Prime Minister Sato in 1968 on why the "peace-loving and anti-war stories" had been deleted from elementary and secondary school texts and why wartime Prime Minister Tojo's textbook picture, which in an earlier edition showed him as a war criminal, portrayed him in a later edition in a sympathetic role, patting a child's head. The Ministry answers were noncommittal.[39]

The new curriculum for the 1970's also deemphasizes the "renunciation of war clause" in the Constitution and advises teachers not to go into too great detail in teaching about the United Nations. There thus seems to be a definite shift away from internationalism toward nationalism.

The trend away from progressive education.—Furthermore, in Japan as in the United States, there is in the 1970's a decided trend away from the permissive and progressive type of education to a more controlled, essentialist philosophy, stressing the mastery of a large body of facts—a trend that indicates a return to the indigenous Japanese tradition in education. The curriculum revision for the 1970's, for example, increases the amount of subject matter and the level of difficulty of many courses, including Japanese language courses as well as courses in science and mathematics.

Crucial entrance examinations.—By far the biggest problem in Japanese education, and one that stubbornly resists resolution, is the "examination hell." The specter of facing a progression of crucial entrance examinations haunts the lives of all students and parents. It dominates the curriculum and distorts the purposes of education, compelling schools to ignore or neglect the new problem-solving methods in social studies, the experimental approach in science, and the oral-aural techniques in language teaching. Instead, there is preoccupation with the forced cramming of a vast number of fragmented facts in order to pass the rigorous subject-matter examinations. Teachers are constantly under pressure to produce successful examination-takers, since their reputation depends on their students' success in entering a prestigious high school or university. Instruction is thus tantamount to preparing for an exam, emphasizing practice tests, and even teaching answers to old examination questions. The *raison d'être* for the whole educational system becomes *screening* rather than development of ability. Teachers are often not prepared to motivate children except through the incentive of examinations. Developing the whole person, the highest goal of the immediate reform period after World War II, has been more and more subordinated to ensuring mastery of a fixed body of knowledge and inculcating obedience to authority. The result often amounts to training in conformity and acceptance of the status quo.

The problem is to find a satisfactory alternative selection system. The only reasonable recently advocated substitute, an aptitude test developed by psychologists, was almost universally rejected, but it is now recommended by the CCE for introduction as part of the projected university reform.

The Ministry-JTU conflict.—The Ministry of Education, which lost much of its great power during the early postwar reform period, has systematically recovered most of it during the years since 1956. At that time the conservative government forced through the Diet, against bitter JTU and Socialist opposition, a bill making school boards appointive and placing them under Ministry control. Other moves of recentralization were (1) institution of a required morals course, (2) strengthening of the textbook screening process, (3) official issuance of a required (rather than "suggested") "Course of Studies," (4) enforcement of a nationwide teachers' efficiency rating system and (5) appointment by local boards of social education consultants trained and paid for in part by the Ministry. All these moves were vigorously opposed by the JTU, and have continued to be sources of friction between teachers and administrators.

Once again in recent years, as in prewar days, the Ministry of Education sits at the top of a pyramid of power, issuing orders to thousands of schools throughout the country requiring compliance with Government policy. Teachers are fearful of this centralized control, and support the JTU partly to counter it.

The conflict between the Ministry and the JTU has polarized and politicized education. Although most teachers and students are moderate leftists, being sympathetic with the Socialist rather than the Communist Party, Government policy has often forced them to side with the radicals. Some classroom teachers, admittedly, are extreme leftists, and this fact has worried many parents, most of whom vote conservative. The public thus generally supports the Ministry moves to tighten controls and to teach morals, actions that they hope will solve the persistent problems. On the other hand, Ministry control over the entire curriculum and enforcement of its policies in the classroom constitute, in the eyes of many teachers, a "reverse course" toward prewar days when all teaching was laced with indoctrination. In this situation the student is caught in the middle of a tug-of-war, and in consequence his interests often suffer.

A striking development that raised high hopes for improvement of communication between the Ministry and the JTU was the appointment late in 1974 of a new American-educated Minister of Education, Dr. Michio Nagai (Ph. D., Ohio State, Philosophy of Education). In a newspaper interview in the *Honolulu Advertiser* of December 29, 1974, he recognized the failure of communication between contending groups (the Ministry and the JTU, the universities and the Ministry, teachers and students, etc.) to be "the biggest problem facing Japanese education today." He promised that his first step as Minister would be to open lines of communications between them. "I don't belong to any political party," he said. "The relative independence of education from politics is important. The people of Japan expect me to work as a person coming from the field of education. I would like to respond to this expectation."

The remarkable thing is that Dr. Nagai has been closely associated for years with the JTU as advisor and lecturer, and that he is the first nonpolitician minister in 17 years. This may be the breakthrough toward peace between the Union and the Government in the field of education.

The university hierarchy.—The structure, methods, curriculums, and purposes of the universities are under fire from their students, who feel the institutions have not kept up with the times. As the students see the picture, while lower levels of education were being substantially democratized, the university remained a tight, feudal hierarchy, epitomized by its chair-system organization. In the large lecture halls, education was mass produced, and professors became progressively more isolated from the students and their offerings became increasingly irrelevant.

The student protest movement was the means of bringing to public attention their grievances against the depersonalization of the multiversity and their dissatisfaction with society in general. During the 1960's students' displeasure found expression in violence that erupted on more than 100 campuses. But extreme politics dominated the student movement and muddied the motives of student activists, so that the movement became divided, with factions fighting among themselves. The Government's reaction, embodied in the Universities Normalization Law of 1969, was designed as a "temporary" measure to suppress the dissension, and thus focused on attacking the symptoms rather than treating the fundamental causes. It did, however, quiet the protests and reduce the conflicts.

In normal times, bright students all aspire to enter the prestige universities, because a degree from one of these institutions is a passport to a job in a prestigious company in which the student will usually spend the rest of his life. Individual personality, ability, and grades do not count—only the label of the alma mater is important. Competition to enter the elite universities thus becomes brutal, and the end goal of learning is lost. "The college degree fetish" has become, says one critic, the national ideology. "In a society where happiness is equated with material success and where success is in turn measured by the degree of worldly advancement, it is perhaps only natural that people are so enthusiastic to get, and expect so much from, a college degree." [80]

The antivocational bias.—In both secondary schools and universities, academic courses are more highly esteemed than vocational ones. Consequently, many youths who are prepared neither by ability nor by interest nevertheless enter the academic track, as in the United States. Vocational courses, and the new technical colleges, are chosen mainly by the able poor. The resultant division of secondary school students into the job-bound and the college-bound, with the latter being favored, has stimulated class antagonisms, which Japan can ill afford. Furthermore, the social distance between the white-collar and the blue-collar worker is being widened at a time when the Nation sorely needs technical skills for its growing industry.

Inefficient teaching of English.—The common difficulty among Japanese students in mastering English, Japan's second language, is another persistent problem. It stems from backwardness and inefficiency in language teaching, compounded by the fact that foreign language is not of much importance in relation to the college entrance examinations. This problem, however, has recently been recognized as a critical one and is now being attacked by new strategies and massive funds, especially from private sources.

SUMMARY

Since their educational system does not always measure up to the high value and the high expectations placed upon it, the Japanese are by no means complacent and satisfied with their schools. Intimate involvement and deep interest on the part of the general populace places the schools under constant surveillance and renders them subject to continuous criticism. The Japanese tend to forget that their dissatisfaction reflects a universal situation, and that, in fact, compared to schools in the rest of Asia (and in many Western countries as well), Japanese schools are modern and sophisticated.

The Japanese would do well to note those common educational problems that they do *not* have—(1) wastage in the form of dropouts, almost unheard of in Japan; (2) illiteracy, nonexistent in Japan; and (3) lack of motivation in learning and reluctance to attend school, also absent in Japan, where there is a traditional respect for learning and a built-in achievement motivation. In fact, in Japan a child can be effectively punished by threatening *not* to let him go to school.

On balance, Japan's educational system, even with its shortcomings, must be judged effective. Evidence of its effectiveness is readily at hand in Japan's high economic growth rate, expanding industrial society, significant inventions and technological innovations, and important achievements and discoveries in the arts and sciences. It is also observable in the great enthusiasm and eagerness of most students, the dedication of most teachers and their pride in the success of their pupils, and the intense interest of the general populace in culture and recreation. Creative growth is taking place despite the constraints and limitations of the system.

In a recent national survey of people over 20, the opinions and attitudes of the Japanese were shown to be moving consistently in a progressive direction from traditional to nontraditional, from older to newer and more rational views.[31] Those who went to school under the new postwar educational system have more progressive ideas than those educated in the period before 1945.[32] This fact suggests that revived conservative attempts to indoctrinate in the older values will turn out to be futile. Members of the new generation are too sophisticated to be forced back into the type of regimented conformism that marked the prewar days.

Former Ambassador Reischauer expressed the confidence that many outside observers (including the present writer) feel in Japan's schools at the end of the Nation's first modern century when he said:

> Japan's success in educational modernization, I believe, was fundamental to its success in every other field. In fact, education more than any other single factor seems to be the key to Japan's phenomenal success during the past century.[33]

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Official Japan, however, does not accept this favorable evaluation of the past record as an automatic guarantee of continuing success in the future. Beset with crises like the violence in the universities in the 1960's, the party in power blamed them on what it considered serious weaknesses in the system (some of which it attributed to the influence of the postwar liberal democratic reforms) and called for drastic changes. Thus in 1967 the Minister of Education charged his principal advisory agency, the Central Council for Education, with the task of devising a plan for a comprehensive reorganization of the entire educational system. After 4 years of study and consultation with concerned parties, the CCE presented such a broadscale plan in June 1971, recommending that it be implemented in its entirety by 1984. The Minister of Education called the plan a guideline for "the third major educational reform in Japan's modern history." [34] (The first was the initial modernization of the early Meiji period launched by the Education Code of 1872, and the second was the democratic reforms of the 1945–51 occupation period.) [34]

Some of the reforms proposed by the CCE were forward-looking and also quite widely popular. These included—

1. Extending free public schooling downward to include 4- and 5-year olds.
2. Providing improved pay for teachers (with a starting salary 30 to 40 percent above that of comparable civil service employees).
3. Releasing classroom teachers from some of their onorous clerical duties by doubling the number of school clerks and computerizing record keeping.
4. Expanding and improving special education for the handicapped.
5. Providing far more liberal subsidies and better status for the private universities.

6. Raising the number of scholarships available for university students.

However, other recommended changes, especially with regard to higher education, constituted reversals of the direction of postwar reforms. These included provisions that would—

1. Revise the university structure to bring the institutions under greater Ministry control.
2. Separate graduate from undergraduate education, and teaching from research.
3. Eliminate teacher education from the regular comprehensive university program.
4. Weaken, if not eliminate, the general education component at the university level by incorporating it into the content of the specialized disciplinary courses.
5. Make foreign languages, health, and physical education optional subjects for university students.

Although some of the CCE's recommendations received widespread approval, others elicited loud protests from concerned groups such as the JTU, the National Universities Association, and associations for kindergarten, elementary school, and junior high school principals. The Japan High School Teachers Union called the projected reorganization an attempt at "strengthening state control over education in negation of the postwar democratic education." [35] President Ichiro Kato of Tokyo University warned that the proposal to reform higher education without respect to the autonomy of universities "would spell disaster for the future of the nation's education," [36] and his institution prepared an alternative plan for reorganizing the universities that included much more student participation in university governance. The National Universities Association also set forth its own plan for university reform, urging member universities to initiate it on their own. It included abolishing the antiquated chair system and eliminating academic ranks, with a view to establishing a more egalitarian academic community.[37]

On the other hand, the chairman of the Central Council for Education, Dr. Tatsuo Morito, a distinguished senior educator who was the first Minister of Education during the occupation period, strongly defended his council's report, assuring the Nation that the changes would enable education to keep abreast of the complex social developments of contemporary Japan.[38]

Discussion concerning the voluminous and multifaceted CCE recommendations [39] is still continuing in Japan, and the final shape of the implementation of many of the more controversial proposals, particularly those in the area of higher education, may not be discernible for some time. But one thing is clear: at the end of her first, and obviously successful, century of modern education, Japan (like many nations at this time) is actively coming to grips with the critical problem of adjusting its educational system to the changing needs of its society and the resultant competing interpretations of the system's main purposes and goals. Given the high priority accorded education by Japanese society, the national commitment to democratic theories, and the existence of a body of dedicated teachers and eager students, one can be hopeful that the next century will see the dynamic Japanese people successfully solving their educational problems in ways that are both effective and also consistent with the human values they have inherited from the past and developed during their recent history.

NOTES

[1] Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Outline of Education in Japan* (Tokyo, the Agency, 1972), p. 47, *and* Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, "Organization of Education in Japan 1971–73," report presented at the XXXIVth International Conference on Education, Geneva, 1973, p. 3. Mimeographed.

[2] *Japan Times*, June 20, 1969.

[3] See Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan* (Paris, OECD, 1970), especially pt 2, Examiners' Report and Questions.

[4] Ibid, pp. 50–51. [Italics in the original.]

[5] Isao Amagi, *The Review of National Policies for Education* (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1970), p. 3. Mimeographed.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 4.

[8] Ibid., p. 5.

[9] OECD, op. cit., p. 52.

[10] Ibid. [Italics added.]

[11] Amagi, op. cit., p. 6.

[12] OECD, op. cit., p. 53. [Italics added.]

[13] Amagi, op. cit., p. 7.

[14] OECD, op. cit., pp. 53–54. [Italics added.]

[15] Amagi, op. cit., pp. 7–8.

[16] OECD, op. cit., p. 54.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Amagi, op. cit., p. 9.

[19] Ibid.

[20] OECD, op. cit., p. 76.

[21] *Japan Times*, June 22, 1966.

[22] *Japan Times*, June 12, 1971.

[23] *Japan Times*, Nov. 7, 1964.

[24] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Apr. 12, 1955.

[25] R. P. Dore, "Education: Japan," in Robert Ward and Dankwart Rustow (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 198. [Italics added.]

[26] Lawrence G. Thomas, "The Attitudes Toward Democracy of Japanese Teachers," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. 32 (December 1958), p. 181.

[27] Author's interview with Dean Kaigo, Honolulu, July 21, 1971.

[28] Charles Gallagher, "Lessons from the Modernization of Japan," *American Universities Field Staff Report*, vol. 15 (1968), p. 4.

[29] *Japan Times*, Mar. 23, 1968.

[30] Tsutomo Kano, "University and Society," *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. 5 (December 1967), in preface to special issue, p. v.

[31] Tatsuzo Suzuki, "A Study of Japanese National Character," *Annals of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics*, supplement 6 (1970), p. 26.

[32] Ibid., p. 39.

[33] *Japan Times*, Nov. 7, 1964.

[34] *Mainichi*, June 12, 1971.

[35] *Japan Times*, June 12, 1971.

[36] Ibid.

[37] *Japan Times*, July 9, 1971.

[38] *Mainichi*, June 12, 1971.

[39] Readers interested in the comprehensive CCE's final report of June 1971 may refer to an English-language version of the report published by the Ministry of Education in 1972 under the title *Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education*. The English version is subtitled "On the Basic Guidelines for the Development of an Integrated Educational System Suited for Contemporary Society," and consists of 219 pages of text.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF EDUCATION: 1947

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education. We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavour to bring up a people who love truth and peace, while education, which aims at the creation of culture which is both universal and rich in individuality, shall be spread far and wide. We hereby enact this Law, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, with a view to clarifying the aim of education and establishing the foundation of education for a new Japan.

Article I. Aim of Education

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.

Article II. Educational Principle

The aim of education shall be realized on all occasions and in all places. In order to achieve the aim, we shall endeavour to contribute to the creation and development of culture by mutual esteem and cooperation, respecting academic freedom, having a regard for the practical matters of every day life and cultivating a spontaneous spirit.

Article III. Equal Opportunity in Education

The people shall all be given equal opportunities of receiving education according to their ability, and they shall not be subject to educational discrimination on account of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin. The state and local public bodies shall take measures to give financial assistance to those who have, in spite of their ability, difficulty in receiving education for economic reasons.

Article IV. Compulsory Education

The people shall be obligated to have boys and girls under their protection receive nine years of general education. No tuition fee shall be charged for compulsory education in schools established by the state and local public bodies.

Article V. Coeducation

Men and women shall esteem and cooperate with each other. Coeducation, therefore, shall be recognized in education.

Article VI. School Education

The schools prescribed by law shall be of a public nature, and besides the state and local public bodies, only the juridical persons prescribed by law shall be entitled to establish such schools.

Teachers of the schools prescribed by law shall be servants of the whole community. They shall be conscious of their mission and endeavour to discharge their duties. For this purpose, the status of teachers shall be respected and their fair and appropriate treatment shall be secured.

Article VII. Social Education

The state and local public bodies shall encourage home education and education carried out in places of work or elsewhere in society. The state and local public bodies shall endeavor to attain the aim of education by the establishment of such institutions as libraries, museums, civic halls, etc., by the utilization of school institutions, and by other appropriate methods.

Article VIII. Political Education

The political knowledge necessary for intelligent citizenship shall be valued in education. The schools prescribed by law, shall refrain from political education or other political activities for or against any specific political party.

Article IX. Religious Education

The attitude of religious tolerance and the position of religion in social life shall be valued in education. The schools established by the state and local public bodies shall refrain from religious education or other activities for a specific religion.

Article X. School Administration

Education shall not be subject to improper control, but it shall be directly responsible to the whole people. School administration shall, on the basis of this realization, aim at the adjustment and establishment of the various conditions required for the pursuit of the aim of education.

Article XI. Additional Rule

In case of necessity appropriate laws shall be enacted to carry the foregoing stipulations into effect.

APPENDIX B
EXCERPTS
FROM
THE
SCHOOL EDUCATION
LAW:
1947

Chapter I—General Regulations

Article II.

The State, prefectural, and local public entities and incorporations provided for in a separate law alone can establish schools . . . .

* * *

Article IV.

The establishment and abolition of schools (including faculties of universities and their postgraduate schools) ; change of their establishers; and other items to be decided by the competent authorities except for government schools and for those schools which are established by agencies incurring the responsibility of establishing schools in compliance with this law; shall be subject to the approval of the competent authorities.

Article V.

The operating agencies of schools shall manage the schools which they establish and shall defray the expenses of the schools except for the cases specifically stipulated by laws or ordinances.

Article VI.

Schools may collect tuition fees. As to compulsory education, however, in government and public primary schools and secondary schools, or schools for the blind, schools for the deaf, and schools for the handicapped, which are equivalent to the above, no tuition fees shall be collected. Matters regarding tuition fees and other expenses in government and public schools shall be decided by the competent authorities . . . .

Article IX.

Those who come under any of the following items shall not be principals or teachers:

1. Those persons who have been adjudged incompetent, and quasi-incompetent persons.
2. Those persons who have been condemned to six years' imprisonment or a heavier punishment.
3. Those persons who were sentenced to the cancellation of their teachers' certificates within the last two years.
4. Those persons who on or after the date of the enforcement of the Constitution of Japan, have organized or joined a political or other organization which advocates the overthrow by force of the Constitution of Japan or the government formed thereunder.

* * *

Article XI.

Principals and teachers of schools may punish their students, pupils, and children, when they recognize it necessary in the light of education, in compliance with the regulations issued by the competent authorities. They shall not, however, inflict corporal punishment.

Article XII.

Schools shall conduct physical examinations in order to increase the health of students, pupils, and children as well as teachers and provide adequate facilities for their hygiene and protection. Matters regarding physical examinations and facilities for hygiene and protection shall be decided by the competent authorities.

Article XIII.

The competent authorities may order the closing of schools in any of the following cases:

1. In cases where they have intentionally violated the provisions of laws and ordinances.
2. In cases where they have acted against the instructions issued by the competent authorities in compliance with the provisions of laws and ordinances.
3. In cases where they have not conducted teaching for more than six months.

Article XIV.

In cases where schools acted against the provisions of laws and ordinances or the regulations established by the competent authorities as to equipment, teaching, and other items, the competent authorities may order changes of the items . . . .

* * *

Article XVI.

Those persons who employ children shall not prevent the said children from receiving compulsory education because of the employment.

Chapter II—Elementary Schools

Article XVIII.

In primary school education efforts shall be made to attain the principles mentioned in each of the following items to effect the aim stated in the foregoing article:

1. To cultivate right understanding and the spirit of cooperation and independence in connection with relationships between human beings on the basis of children's experience in social life both inside and outside the school.
2. To develop a proper understanding of the actual conditions and traditions both of children's native communities and of the country, and further, to cultivate the spirit of international cooperation.
3. To cultivate basic understanding and skills [with regard to] food, clothing, housing, industries, etc., needed in everyday life.
4. To cultivate ability to understand and use correctly words and expressions of the Japanese language needed in everyday life.
5. To cultivate ability to understand and manage correctly mathematical relations needed in everyday life.
6. To cultivate ability to observe and dispose of natural phenomena met with in everyday life in a scientific manner.
7. To cultivate habits needed for a sound, safe, and happy life and to effect a harmonious development of mind and body.
8. To cultivate basic understandings and skills in music, fine arts, literature, etc., which make life bright and rich.

* * *

Article XIX.

The course of the elementary school shall cover six years . . . .

* * *

Article XXI.

The elementary school shall use the textbooks approved or published by the competent authorities. Books other than the above-mentioned textbooks and other teaching materials may be used if they are good and suitable.

Article XXII.

The protectors (i.e., those persons who exercise parental authority over the children, or, in case there are no such persons, the guardians or those persons who exercise the duties of guardians; the word is hereinafter to be used in this meaning) shall be obligated to send their children to the elementary school or the school for the blind, the school for the deaf, or the school for the handicapped, for the period from the beginning of the first school year which falls on or after the following day of the children's attaining full six years of age to the end of that school year in which the children attain full twelve years of age . . . .

Article XXIII.

As for the protectors of those children who are to be sent to school according to the provision of the preceding article . . . but who are acknowledged as [finding it] difficult to attend school because of their invalidity, imperfect growth, or other unavoidable obstacles, the managing agency of the elementary school established by a city, town, or village may allow them to postpone the fulfillment of their obligation stipulated in the preceding article or exempt them from their obligation according to the regulations stipulated by the competent authorities after obtaining the approval of the competent authorities which exercise jurisdiction over the area of the prefecture regarding education . . . .

Article XXV.

The city, town, or village shall give necessary aids [sic] to the protectors of those school-age children who are recognized to [find it] difficult to attend school for financial reasons.

Article XXVI.

The managing agency of the elementary school established by a city, town, or village may order the protectors of those children who are suffering from infectious diseases or feared to be in danger of [so] suffering, or who are recognized as being so bad in their character and conduct that they may obstruct the education of other children [to take them out of school].

Article XXVII.

Those children who have not attained the age [for entering the elementary school] shall not enter the school . . . .

Article XXIX.

Each city, town, or village shall establish elementary schools sufficient for admitting the school-age children living within its own area . . . .

Article XXXIV

Private elementary schools shall be under the jurisdiction of the prefectural competent authorities.

Chapter III—Lower Secondary Schools [Junior High Schools]

Article XXXV.

The lower secondary school shall aim at giving pupils secondary general education according to the development of their minds and bodies on the basis of the education given at the primary school.

Article XXXVI.

In secondary school education efforts shall be made to attain the objectives mentioned in each of the following items in order to realize the aim stated in the preceding article:

1. To cultivate the qualities necessary as members of society and the State, attaining the objectives of the elementary school education more thoroughly.
2. To cultivate the fundamental knowledge and skill of the vocations required in society, the attitude to respect labor, and the ability to select their future course according to their individuality.
3. To promote their social activities in and out of school, to guide their sentiment rightly, and to cultivate their fair judgment.

Article XXXVII.

The course of the lower secondary school shall cover three years ....

* * *

Article XXXIX.

Guardians shall be obligated to send their children to the lower secondary school, the school for the blind, or the school for the deaf, or the school for the handicapped from the beginning of the first school year which comes on or after the following day of their finishing the course of the elementary school to the end of that school year in which they attain full fifteen years of age ....

* * *

Chapter IV—Upper Secondary [Senior High Schools]

Article XLI.

The upper secondary school shall aim at giving the students higher general education and technical education according to the development of their minds and bodies on the basis of the education given at the lower secondary school.

Article XLII.

In upper secondary school education efforts shall be made to attain the [following] objectives . . . .

1. To cultivate the qualities necessary as able members of society and the State, developing the results of the secondary school education.
2. To make students decide on their future course according to their individuality on the basis of their consciousness of the mission they are to carry out in society, to cultivate the higher general culture, and to make them skilled in technical arts.
3. To cultivate [a] broad and deep understanding and sound critical judgment regarding society and to attempt the establishment of their individuality . . . .

* * *

Article XLIV.

The upper secondary school may have a night course or a part-time course in addition to the regular one. The upper secondary school may [also] have the part-time course only.

Article XLV.

The upper secondary school may conduct education by correspondence. Matters necessary in connection with the correspondence education shall be decided by the competent authorities.

Article XLVI.

The course of the [full-time] upper secondary school shall cover three years. But in case of special technical education and in cases of having the courses mentioned in the first paragraph of Article XLIV, the course may cover more than three years.

Article XLVII.

Those who can enter the upper secondary school shall be those who have graduated from the lower secondary school or the equivalent school or those who have been recognized to have the scholastic attainments equal to them according to the provisions laid down by the competent authorities.

Article XLVIII.

The upper secondary school may have a graduate course and a special course. The graduate course of the high school shall aim at giving instruction on special matters to a more advanced degree to the graduates of the upper secondary school or the equivalent school or those recognized to have the scholastic attainments equal to them . . . . The course shall cover more than one year. The special course of the upper secondary school shall aim at providing those mentioned in the foregoing article with special technical education to the simpler degree. The course shall cover more than one year . . . .

* * *

Chapter V—Universities

Article LII.

The university, as a center of learning, shall aim at teaching and studying higher learning and technical arts as well as giving broad general culture and developing intellectual, moral, and practical abilities.

Article LIII.

The university, as a general rule, shall provide for several faculties, but a university may be formed with only one faculty, if special need for such exists.

Article LIV.

The university may have a faculty giving instruction in the evening. [added later] The university may give correspondence education.

Article LV.

The course of the university shall cover four years. As to the faculties teaching and studying special professional matter or the faculties mentioned in the above article, however, the course may cover more than four years.

Article LVI.

Those who can enter the university shall be those who have graduated from the upper secondary school or completed the twelve-year schooling with the regular courses (including those who have completed the schooling equivalent to this, with a course other than the regular one) or those who have been recognized to have the scholastic attainments equal to . . . the persons mentioned above under the provisions laid down by the competent authorities.

* * *

Article LVII.

The university may have a graduate course and a special course . . . .

Article LVIII.

The university shall have a president, professors, assistant professors, assistants, and business clerks. The university may have [other officers] in addition to those mentioned above. The president shall govern all the affairs of the university and supervise all the staff of the university. The professors shall give instruction to the students guiding them in their study and pursuing their own study. The assistant professor shall assist the professors in their duties. The assistants shall assist the professors and assistant professors in their duties. The lecturers shall perform duties equivalent to those of the professors and assistant professors.

Article LIX.

The university shall have a faculty meeting to discuss and deliberate on important matters. The faculty meeting may include the assistant professors and others in its organization.

* * *

Article LXI.

The university may have research institutes or other research facilities attached to it.

Article LXII.

The university may have a postgraduate school.

Article LXIII.

Those persons have studied at the university for more than four years, taken regular examinations and passed them, can be [called] *Gakushi* (Bachelor). Matters concerning *Gakushi* shall be decided by the competent authorities.

Article LXIV.

Public or private universities shall be under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education.

* * *

Article LXVI.

As a general rule, the postgraduate school shall have several postgraduate courses. Only one postgraduate course, however, may make the postgraduate school, if special need exists.

* * *

Article LXVIII.

Universities which have postgraduate schools may give *Hakushi* (Doctor's) and other degrees according to the provisions laid down by the competent authorities. In laying down provisions regarding the Doctor's and other degrees the competent authorities shall consult the University Chartering Council.

* * *

Article LXIX.

The university may be provided with facilities for university extension work. Necessary matters concerning university extension work shall be decided by the competent authorities.

Chapter VII—Kindergartens

Article LXXVII.

The kindergarten shall aim at bringing up young children and developing their minds and bodies, providing suitable environment for them.

Article LXXVIII.

In order to realize [this] aim . . . the kindergarten shall endeavor to attain the [following] objective(s) . . . .

1. To cultivate everyday habits necessary for a sound, safe and happy life and to effect a harmonious development of bodily functions.
2. To make children experience in the kindergarten a group life and cultivate willingness to take part in it as well as the germ of the spirit of cooperation and independence.
3. To cultivate the germ of the right understanding of and the right attitude toward surrounding social life and happenings.
4. To guide children in the right usage of the language and foster an interest in fairy tales and picture books.
5. To cultivate children an interest in creative expression of their own through music, dances, pictures, and other means.

Article LXXIX.

Matters concerning the content of education in the kindergarten shall be decided by the competent authorities according to the provisions in the preceding two articles.

Article LXXX.

Those who can enter the kindergarten shall be children from the age of full three years up to the age at which they begin to attend the elementary school.

APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS CONCERNING TECHNICAL COLLEGES AND JUNIOR COLLEGES FROM THE SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS TO THE SCHOOL EDUCATION LAW: 1961 AND 1964, RESPECTIVELY

Article LXX, subsection 2, Technical Colleges
(Extract from Law 144 of 1961)

The aims of the technical colleges are to teach the art and science of technology thoroughly, and to enable students to acquire the skills necessary for a vocation.

Paragraph 3. The departments shall be technology and merchant marine . . . .

Paragraph 4. The length of schooling shall be 5 years for a technology major and 5½ years for the merchant marine major.

Paragraph 5. The entrance qualifications shall be the same as those for senior high.

Paragraph 6. The staff will consist of a principal, professors, assistant professors, assistants, and clerks.

* * *

Paragraph 8. Those who graduate from technical college can transfer to regular colleges according to the regulation of the Ministry of Education.

Article LXIX, Junior Colleges (Extract of Law of June 1964)

Subsection 2. (1) The university [junior colleges are called "short-term universities"] may have different aims from those listed [for regular universities] in Article LII, namely providing general and professional education for secondary school graduates and developing their intellectual and practical abilities required for their future career and practical life.

(2) Those universities whose aims are so defined may consist of 2 or 3 year courses . . . .

(3) These universities will be called junior colleges.

(4) Junior colleges may not have faculties (*gakubu*).

(5) Junior colleges may have departments.

(6) Junior colleges may have night schools.

(7) The graduates from these institutions may transfer to regular 4-year universities, according to the regulations of higher authority.

(8) These institutions shall not have graduate schools . . . .

APPENDIX D
SELECTED PROJECTIONS TO 1980 BY THE CENTRAL COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION: 1971

Total annual expenditure required to fund the educational system projected by the 1971 CCE recommendations, by type of school: 1975–80

[Unit = $1,000,000]

Type of school	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Total	**$3,773**	**$15,392**	**$17,425**	**$19,897**	**$22,595**	**$25,986**
Elementary schools	4,850	5,458	6,144	6,947	7,847	8,844
Junior high schools	2,639	2,947	3,364	3,803	4,203	4,789
Senior high schools	2,631	2,967	3,314	3,742	4,228	4,850
Junior colleges	447	492	581	708	847	1,033
Universities	2,867	3,147	3,589	4,194	4,889	5,792
Others	339	381	433	503	581	678

Estimated number of students, entrants, classes, teachers, and other staff, by type of school: 1975–80

[Unit = 1,000]

Type of school	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Elementary Schools						
Students	10,200	10,410	10,550	10,740	11,080	11,160
Classes	302	307	309	314	321	323
Teachers	383	389	392	396	405	407
Junior High Schools						
Students	4,690	4,760	4,900	4,970	4,880	4,990
Classes	125	127	130	132	129	133
Teachers	218	221	226	229	225	230
Senior High Schools						
1st-year entrants	1,390	1,400	1,430	1,470	1,520	1,610
Students	4,110	4,190	4,220	4,300	4,410	4,590
Teachers	197	200	201	204	210	218

Junior Colleges						
1st-year entrants	175	183	199	211	223	238
Students	347	363	388	416	441	469
Business and clerical staff	20.5	21.5	22.9	24.6	26.0	27.6
	6.4	6.7	7.1	7.7	8.2	8.6
Universities						
1st-year entrants	409	420	441	459	476	495
Students	1,597	1,651	1,707	1,769	1,836	1,912
Faculty above lecturer rank	57.4	59.2	61.3	63.6	66.0	68.8
Research assistants	23.3	24.2	24.9	25.8	26.8	28.0
Business and clerical staff	120	124	128	133	138	143

Source: Adapted from *Kongo Ni Okeru Gakko No Sogoteki No Kakuju Seibi No Tame No Kihonteki Shisaku Ni Tsuite (Basic Guidelines for a Synthesized Extension and Organization of School Education in the Future)*, (Tokyo, *Chuo Kyoiku Shingi Kai)* (Central Council for Education), June 11, 1971, pp. 73–75.

APPENDIX E
EXCERPTS CONCERNING THE CONTENTS OF MORALS EDUCATION FROM THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDIES:
1969

I. To make an effort to respect human life, maintain security, and lead a life of moderation and harmony.

  1. To respect the lives of others and to secure the sound growth and development of both mind and body.
  2. We should try to lead a steady life with self-control, and not give way to impulse.

II. To understand the basic habits of daily life and to regulate them.

  3. Try to form such habits as keeping things in order and try to deal with everything systematically.
  4. Try to understand the meaning of courtesy so as to be able to use appropriate language and to behave appropriately according to the time and place.

III. Try to cultivate a positive attitude toward work and the habit of carrying through a task to completion.

  5. Do not hesitate to make a decision, but carry out courageously those acts you believe to be right.
  6. Carry out your duties and responsibilities with confidence and persistence, overcoming all obstacles.

IV. Always try to think independently, decide things for yourself, and accept the responsibility for what you do.

  7. Try to have pride as a man, and develop your self-control.
  8. Do sincerely whatever you choose to do, and accept the consequences willingly.

V. Try to respect others' opinions on the basis of understanding and confidence, and try to learn from them.

9. Try to respect everybody's personality and tolerate others' different opinions and actions.
10. Try to listen to others' opinions with modesty and a desire for self-improvement, and not be complacent.

VI. Try to know the value of work and seek a fulfilling life that may lead to real happiness.

11. After accomplishing what you must do, you will know the joy of work. In doing so you will come to understand the basic concept of a profession.
12. Determine for yourself a way of life which will satisfy you from the bottom of your heart, not acting only from immediate desires and present pleasures.

VII. Try to build a positive and sincere attitude toward life not allowing yourself to be directed by others, but to love truth and realize your own ideals.

13. Try to judge things objectively and rationally and to search continually for truth.
14. Do not compromise too easily and do not indulge in unnecessary day-dreaming, but try steadily to realize your ideals.

VIII. Be humane and try to cultivate a rich mind which responds to what is beautiful and noble.

15. Recognizing that man has both frail and weak aspects as well as strong and noble aspects, try to develop an attitude of loving human beings.
16. Love nature, aspire to beauty and try to develop your mind so as to feel that creative force which is greater than man.

IX. Try to establish a good human relationship with friends, male or female, understanding, respecting, and encouraging each other.

17. Try to establish a constant relationship with friends, loving and respecting them and helping them develop.
18. Boys and girls should come to understand each other's characteristics, through pure-minded association.

X. Try to understand the significance and aims of the groups to which you belong and try to enrich community life.

19. Build a wholesome family life through affection, consideration, and respect for each family member, realizing your role as a family member.
20. Try to value the unity of groups; do your share willingly to contribute to the betterment of the community.

XI. Try to understand the spirit of law and the meaning of order; so that you can learn to discipline yourself.

21. Honor the rules of groups, cooperate with and evaluate each

other so that you can improve the order and discipline of the group.

22. Value the attitude of respect for law; try to carry out your responsibilities to the letter as well as to assert your rights.
23. Make a clear distinction between public and private affairs, and try to develop the morality necessary as a member of a democratic society.
24. Love justice and conquer selfishness and narrow cliquishness; try to work together to bring about an ideal society which has no discrimination.

XII. Love your country as a Japanese and try to aim to be a man who can contribute to the welfare of his fellow men, as well as to contribute to the development of our country.

25. Deepen your understanding and affection toward our land and culture and try to be useful in transmitting and creating still more excellent traditions.
26. Be always aware of the international point of view and try to be a man who can contribute to world peace and the happiness of all mankind.

Source: *Mombusho* (Ministry of Education), *Chugakko Gakushu Shido Yoryo* (*Junior High School Course of Studies*), (Tokyo, the Ministry, 1969), pp. 245-48.

APPENDIX F
CONDENSATION OF "THE IMAGE OF AN IDEAL JAPANESE": 1966

Part I—Problems Facing the Japanese Today

1. Characteristics of Modern Civilization

This is the age of science and technology. However, the industrialization process has produced a dehumanizing effect upon man. The extraordinary progress of natural science, industry, and technology has shown the danger that man may be controlled by machines. Thus man is in danger of being mechanized for the sake of technological advancements.

The economic prosperity which Japan has been enjoying has produced hedonistic tendencies and a spiritual vacuum. If this continues, the long-range prospects of sustained prosperity are threatened. The continued industrialization of Japan must cultivate man's creativeness. In this modern age, the "humanity" of man must be elevated. Otherwise man will be merely a means of production in an industrial society.

2. Contemporary International Situation

The experience of defeat in World War II has brought about a serious transformation in the way the Japanese people think about their country and society. Our people are laboring under the delusion that everything in Japan's past is wrong, with the result that they ignore Japanese history and the national ethos. To be sure, there are negative aspects about Japan's past, but there are also many positive characteristics which must be understood in developing a new image of a Japanese man.

Today, Japan finds itself in the middle of the conflict between East and West, North and South. Japan must, therefore, be conscious of this position and must be acceptable to the world at large. However, this does not mean that we are to forget that we are Japanese. We can be effective citizens of the world with a clear awareness of our international responsibilities when we are truly Japanese. We must be strong-minded and resolute, both morally and spiritually, to maintain the independence of our nation.

3. Japan Today

Democracy in postwar Japan is still in an immature state of development. There is much confusion about the understanding of democracy, which has not yet taken root in the Japanese mind. Opinions are divided between those who interpret democracy from the standpoint of independent individuality and those who interpret it as a class struggle. If the latter position prevails, the essence of democracy will be destroyed. After the War, the Japanese people lost their traditional virtues of national solidarity and national consciousness. In addition, a firm sense of individual dignity has not been achieved. While continuing the development of individuality, it is also our task to assume a common responsibility for our country.

Part II—The Ideal Japanese

1. The Ideal Japanese As An Individual Must:

A. Be free. Man has human dignity which is the foundation for human rights. The fundamental element of that dignity is freedom. But responsibility accompanies freedom. The postwar tendency to stress freedom and rights while ignoring responsibilities and duties is a misinterpretation of freedom. To be free means to accept responsibilities.

B. Develop individuality. Man is unique because of his individuality. Men are equal in dignity but different in individuality. By developing one's talents, one can fulfill his individual mission.

C. Respect himself. Man loves himself instinctively. But it is important for man to love himself correctly, which means to cultivate one's ability and respect for life. Then will the purpose of life be appreciated. Mere pursuit of pleasure deteriorates man so one must know what is more important in life than mere pleasure. Through this, one can come to realize himself.

D. Be strong-minded. A reliable and trustworthy man is a strong-minded and courageous man who does not follow others blindly. He is also a person who can share happiness and sadness with others.

E. Be reverent. As a basis for the above, it is important to have reverence for the origin of life. At the source of our being are our parents, our nation, and mankind. Love for mankind, human dignity, and true happiness grow out of this feeling of reverence for life's origin.

2. The Ideal Japanese As A Family Man Must:

A. Make the home a place of love. Love is inherent in man but it must be purified and disciplined by morals in the home. Chastity, filial duty, and love between brothers and sisters are the moral traits to be cultivated.

B. Make the home a place of rest. The home will provide a haven of rest amidst our busy society. It is a place where man can find himself within our mass society and mass civilization.

C. Make the home a place of education. The atmosphere of the home influences children and helps them to grow up. Parents, in turn, train themselves through the education of their children. Children must listen to their parents. We must, however, never forget the dignity of parents as well as parental love for the children.

3. The Ideal Japanese As A Member of Society Must:

A. Have respect for work. Society is the source of production which provides greater happiness for its members. For that purpose we must love our work and devote ourselves to it. Through work we can live a good life and help others also to live a better life.

B. Contribute to the social welfare. The development of science has given us many blessings as well as many troubles. It has indeed helped us to solve many of man's problems. However, with the development of industry, the growth of cities, traffic congestion, air pollution, etc., man is threatening his existence with the deterioration of his environment. Our modern society has become so interrelated that the individual's welfare cannot be separated from the general welfare. Hence it is essential that a spirit of social service be promoted based on a sense of social solidarity.

C. Be creative. In this age of popularization of culture, society tends to be pleasure-seeking and wasteful. We must develop a productive and creative society emphasizing our traditional virtues of work and economy. A constructive and creative man loves his work and devotes himself to it, be it on the farm, in the factory, or in the school.

D. Respect the social norm. The most conspicuous deficiency of Japanese society is the social confusion. Japanese are not sensitive enough to social justice. It is most important to observe the laws which guarantee our freedom.

4. The Ideal Japanese As A Citizen Must:

A. Show proper patriotism. It is through the state that we find the way to enjoy our happiness and contribute to human happiness throughout the world. To love our nation properly means to try to enhance the value of it. The man who is indifferent to his own nation is the enemy of his own country.

B. Show respect for symbols. We have loved and respected the Emperor. This was not separated from loving Japan and respecting its mission. "The Emperor is the symbol of Japan and the unity of the people. This position is based on the will of the people wherein lies the sovereignty." [1] We must give deep thought to the fact that loving and respecting Japan is synonymous with loving and respecting the Emperor.

C. Contribute to development of Japanese character. Those nations that contributed most to the world have all had their distinctive characteristics. And so it was during and after the Meiji Period when the unique characteristics of the leaders and people of those days made the modernization of Japan possible. We can be distinctively Japanese today by looking back upon our own history and traditions.

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[1] Japanese Constitution, 1947, ch. 1, par. 1.

Source: Condensed translation of the final Central Council for Education (CCE) report, adapted from Benjamin Duke, "The Image of an Ideal Japanese," *Educational Forum*, vol. 32 (November 1967), pp. 32–35.

APPENDIX G
STATISTICS ON THE SEVEN FORMER IMPERIAL UNIVERSITIES: 1967

Name, location, and date founded	Faculties	Number of teachers		Number of students		Special characteristics
Tokyo University Tokyo 1886	Agriculture Economics Education Engineering General education Law Literature Medicine Pharmacy Science	Total: Professors Assistant professors Lecturers	1,620 690 710 220	Total: Men Women	12,870 12,380 490	Produces about 30 percent of the leaders in government, business, and education. Has 14 research institutes, a first-rate hospital, and a library of 3½ million volumes.
Kyoto University Tokyo 1897	Agriculture Economics Education Engineering Law Literature Medicine Pharmacy	Total: Professors Assistant professors Lecturers	1,200 540 530 130	Total: Men Women	10,305 9,830 475	With Tokyo University, stands at the top of the university hierarchy. Specializes in literature (history and philosophy) and science. Has famous research institutes in humanities and physics, and a library of 2½ million volumes.
Kyushu University Fukuoka 1910	Agriculture Dentistry Economics Education Engineering	Total: Professors Assistant professors Lecturers	750 330 330 90	Total:	7,530 6,780 750	Has an excellent agricultural school with nationwide experimental fields and high-level research, a law faculty with a center for studying Asian political and economic problems. Also

	Law Literature Medicine Pharmacy Science					studies Kyushu problems, such as coal mining.
Tohoku University Sendai 1911	Agriculture Dentistry Economics Education Engineering Law Literature Medicine Science	Total: Professors Assistant professors Lecturers	910 420 390 100	Total: Men Women	8,320 7,600 630	Specializes in science, engineering, and metallurgy. The leading medical department in northeast Japan.
Hokkaido University Sapporo 1918	Agriculture Dentistry Economics Education Engineering Fisheries Law Literature Medicine Pharmacy Science Veterinary science	Total: Professors Assistant professors Lecturers	725 320 335 70	Total: Men Women	9,230 8,625 605	Specializes in science and agriculture, serving Hokkaido fisheries and dairy industry with its research in veterinary science. Has library of about 1.1 million volumes.
Osaka University Osaka 1931	Dentistry Economics Engineering	Total: Professors Assistant	810 360	Total: Men Women	7,580 7,045 535	Has a top-flight medical school with hospital and nurses' school. Specializes in science and engineering, and has

APPENDIX G
STATISTICS ON THE SEVEN FORMER IMPERIAL UNIVERSITIES: 1967—Cont.

Name, location, and date founded	Facilities	Number of teachers		Number of students		Special characteristics
Osaka University	Law	professors	310			done pioneering research in shipbuilding.
(Cont.)	Literature	Lecturers	140			
	Medicine					
	Pharmacy					
	Science					
	Technology					
Nagoya University	Agriculture	Total:	670	Total:	5,880	Specializes in environmental medical research and science, particularly research in plastics and static electricity.
Nagoya	Economics	Professors	300	Men	5,420	
1939	Education	Assistant professors	260	Women	460	
	Engineering	Lecturers	110			
	Law					
	Literature					
	Medicine					
	Science					

Source: Adapted from *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. 5 (December 1967), appendix IV.

APPENDIX H
"A CODE OF ETHICS FOR TEACHERS":
1952

Until the present time the teachers of Japan, under the pressures of a half-feudalistic ultranationalistic system, have been forced into a logic of subservience. Because the Japanese social system today has reached a point where reconstruction from a completely different point of view is necessary, we must cut our ties with past conventions and embrace a new ethic.

A code of ethics is not merely a set of universal and eternal rules, but rather a set of changing principles which must be grasped through a fight to accomplish the historical tasks which have been bestowed upon a people within a specific historical period. Today, however, the workings of our society are causing poverty and unemployment to become more and more universal and are forcing even the independence of the country onto dangerous ground.

The threat of a modern destructive war is distorting our recognition of these historical tasks and deflecting our will to overcome them. In such a state of affairs our earnest desire to seek a peaceful society in which human rights are respected, industrial production is increased, and the exploitation of man by man is no longer permitted cannot be attained without a high degree of autonomous growth toward maturity on the part of the laboring class. Needless to say, teachers are laborers. The more the difficulty of the situation increases, the more the teachers of Japan, along with all laborers, must increase their unity, protect the youth of the country, and face these historical tasks with courage and intelligence. Based on a recognition of the above facts, we hereby establish the following code of ethics:

I. Teachers Shall Work With The Youth Of The Country In Fulfilling The Tasks Of Society.

Upon our shoulders have been laid the historical tasks of protecting peace, insuring the independence of the country, and realizing a society free from exploitation, poverty and unemployment. Believing in democracy, we are unswerving in our desire to fulfill these tasks.

The youth of the country must be raised and educated to become capable workers who will give themselves, each according to his own abilities, to the accomplishments of these tasks. There is no other road by which the youth of Japan can attain freedom and happiness.

Teachers shall live and work with the youth and shall be the organizers of and counselors in a schooling designed to meet this necessity. Each teacher shall make an intensive critical examination of himself and shall study and make efforts to prepare himself for his new role in education.

II. Teachers Shall Fight For Equal Opportunity In Education.

Equal opportunity in education and respect for the dignity of the individual, as guaranteed by the Constitution, are today still dead letters. The youth of today are severely restricted in their educational opportunities because of the social and economic limitations placed upon the individual. It may be said in particular that no serious consideration has been given to educating either the multitudes of working young people or mentally and physically handicapped children. Children are not being guaranteed equality of conditions for life and growth either within or without the schools. We have reached a point where eighteenth century individualism no longer opens the way to the development of the individual. Today social procedures must be followed in order to create equal opportunities in education.

Teachers shall of themselves be keenly aware of this necessity and shall in all quarters fight for equality in education.

III. Teachers Shall Protect Peace.

Peace is the ideal of mankind; war destroys all the hopes of mankind. Without peace the historical tasks facing Japanese society cannot be accomplished. The desire of the people for peace becomes strongest when individual rights are respected and when the people are able to hold hopes for an improvement in social conditions and have strong faith in progress. Discontent and loss of hope on the part of the people may serve to impel a country down the road to war.

Teachers shall be advocators of the brotherhood of man, leaders in the reconstruction of life attitudes, and pioneers in respecting human rights, and as such they shall stand as the most courageous defenders of peace against all those who advocate war.

IV. Teachers Shall Act On Behalf Of Scientific Truth.

Progress takes place within a society when the members of that society, acting on behalf of scientific truth, seek a rational approach to historical tasks. Actions which ignore the fruits of science serve to suppress that in man which makes him seek progress. Teachers shall respect the progress-seeking element in man, shall carry out scientific explorations on nature and society, and shall create a rational environment conducive to the growth and development of young people.

To these ends teachers shall share their experiences and shall work closely with scholars and specialists in all fields.

V. Teachers Shall Allow No Infringements On Freedom In Education.

Our freedom of research in education as well as of action is often suppressed by improper forces. Academic freedom as well as freedom of speech, thought and assembly, although guaranteed in the Constitution, are nevertheless actually being restricted severely. Infringements on freedom in education serve to obstruct healthy learning by young people, to hinder intellectual activity, and furthermore to endanger the proper development of the nation. Teachers, being deeply aware of this, shall fight against all improper pressures in education.

VI. Teachers Shall Seek After Proper Government.

Successive governments, under the pretext of making education politically neutral, have long deprived the teachers of Japan of their freedoms and have forced them to serve in whatever way the government has desired. After the war, having been given the freedom to participate in political activities, teachers banded together and fought for proper government, but now such political freedom is again being taken from them. Government is not something to serve the interests of any one group; it belongs to all the people. It is the means for us to attain our desires in a peaceful manner.

Teachers, together with all working men, shall participate in political activities and shall pool their resources in seeking proper government.

VII. Teachers Shall Fight Side By Side With Parents Against Corruption In Society And Shall Create A New Culture.

In our towns and villages our young people are surrounded day and night by corruption of all kinds which is exerting a degenerative influence on their wholesome minds. Unwholesome amusements are suggested in movies, plays and even in the tales told by the neighborhood children's storytellers; degenerative tendencies are to be found in newspapers, radio programs, and in books and magazines; the type of atmosphere surrounding bicycle and race tracks and urban amusement districts tends to weaken the soul of the nation. All these exert a particularly strong and poisonous influence on the youth of the country.

Teachers shall combine their efforts with parents in protecting youth from the corrupting influences of society, shall live and work with youth in a proper manner, and shall create a new culture of the working man.

VIII. Teachers Are Laborers.

Teachers are laborers whose workshops are the schools. Teachers, in the knowledge that labor is the foundation of everything in society, shall be proud of the fact that they themselves are laborers. At the present stage of history, the realization of a new society of mankind which respects fundamental human rights, not only in word but in deed as well, and which utilizes resources, technology, and science for the welfare of all men is possible only through the power of the working masses whose nucleus is the laboring class. Teachers shall be aware of their position as laborers, shall live forcefully believing in the historical progress of man, and shall consider all stagnation and reaction as their enemies.

IX. Teachers Shall Defend Their Right To Maintain A Minimum Standard Of Living.

Having been forced thus far to live in noble poverty under the proud name of educator, teachers have been ashamed to voice their demands for even the minimum material benefits necessary for their existence. To demand just recompense for their own labors would have been unthinkable to teachers of the past. Because of this situation, teachers have lost all desire and zeal for imparting to their students a proper education, and their lives have come to be ruled by exhaustion, indolence and opportunism.

Teachers shall consider it their right and duty to protect their own right to maintain a minimum standard of living and to fight for optimum conditions under which to live and labor.

X. Teachers Shall Unite.

The obligations which history has given to the teacher can only be fulfilled if teachers unite. The strength of the teacher is exhibited through organization and unity; organization and unity give constant courage and strength to the activities of the teacher. Morover, there is no other way today in which the teacher can establish himself as an individual except through unity of action. The teachers of Japan, through the labor movement, shall unite with the teachers of the world and shall join hands with all laborers.

Unity is the highest ethic of the teacher.

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INDEX

INDEX

Academies (*juku*), 15, 206
Accreditation, university, 74. (*See also* Japanese University Accreditation Association.)
Achievement orientation, 24, 325, 337
Achievement tests, 94–95, 246–47
  Court decision on, 247
  Effects of, 247
  Findings of Government on, 247
  Government's case for, 94
  Stated purpose of, 94
  Teachers Union opposition to, 94, 247
  Teachers Union reaction to, 94–95
Administration, contemporary, 259–73
  Advisory councils to assist Minister in, 260–61
  Educational Committee of Liberal-Democratic Party's influence over, 248, 260–61
  Ministry of Education's responsibility for national schools, 260
  Organization of Ministry of Education for, 260–65
  Relation of prefectural school boards to, 66–68, 266–69
  Role of Minister of Education in, 68–69, 261
  Role of principal in, 270–71
  Role of superintendent in, 67, 269–70
Administrative organization of early national system, 19–20. (*See also* Educational Code of 1872 (*Gakusei*).)
Admission standards to senior high schools, 161. (*See also* High school, senior, contemporary.)
Adult education. (*See* Social education.)
Agricultural high schools, 71, 96, 153
  Decreasing appeal of, 153
Ajisaka, Tsugio, 114
Allowances for teachers, 226–30
Amagi, Isao, 325–30
American common school as initial modern model, 18, 19, 21
American military government during the occupation, 60
  Limitations of, 83–84
Ampo (United States-Japan Security Pact), 313
Antivocational bias, 46, 80, 336–37
Appraisal of current status of education, 330–40
  Credits in, 331–33
  Debits in, 334–37
Arithmetic, 117, 128–29. (*See also* Mathematics.)
  Elementary school, 117
  Junior high school, 128–29
  Senior high school, 129, 165–66

- Art, elementary, 117
  - Japanese students' aptitude for, 38
- Asahigaoka junior high, teaching communism in, 250–51
- Audiovisual equipment, 298–99
  - Prefectural and local film libraries as repositories for, 298
- Authoritarian education. (*See* Nationalist education.)
- Authorization of textbooks. (*See* Textbook authorization system of Ministry.)

- Baby boom, effects of, 88
- Balance sheet, 323–40
- Bellah, Robert, 6
- Biological Science Curriculum Study (BSCS). (*See* Science and technology as priority areas.)
- Board of education secretariat, 267
  - Teacher-consultants as guidance staff of, 272
- Boards of education, 66–68, 266–69
  - Functions of local, 67
  - Functions of prefectural, 67, 268
  - JTU members on, 67
  - Ministry influence over, 269
  - Modification of, making them appointive, 91, 268
  - National elections of, 66–67
  - Prewar attempts at creation of, 24
  - Public dissatisfaction with, 67
  - Relation of superintendent to, 269
  - Weaknesses of, 67
- Bonuses, 228
- Borrowings during Meiji Period, 17–23, 34
  - American school system as a model for, 18–23
  - Institutions and techniques, 18
- Branch schools, 71
- Broadcast Law of 1950, 290
  - Rigorous standards required by, 290
- Buddhism, contributions of, 6
  - As means of inculcating moral values in high school, 167

- Calligraphy, 41, 42, 81, 115, 126. (*See also* cover illustration.)
- Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 217
- Censorship of textbooks, 285–86
- Central Council for Education (CCE), 90, 98, 108–09, 180–82, 191, 324, 338–40
  - Composition of, 260
  - Japanese Education Reform Council (JERC), predecessor of, 260
  - Responsibilities of, 260
- Chair system in universities, 50, 183–85, 208
- Charter Oath of Five Articles, 17, 28, 61
- Chemical Education Material Study (CHEMS). (*See* Science and technology as priority areas).
- Children's Associations, 304–05
- Chinese characters, 81, 115, 126
  - Basic requirement in elementary school, 115
  - Basic requirement in junior high school, 126
  - Suggested abandonment of, 63
- Citizens' Public Halls, 300–02. (*See also* Social education.)
  - Criticism of, 302
  - Example of, 301

- Extension to urban areas of, 302
- Purposes of, 300
- Standards for, 301
- Subsidies for, 301

Civil Information and Education (CIE) Section. (*See* Occupation reforms in education.)

Clan schools in feudal period, 13–14

Club activities, 156–57, 191–92
- Senior high school, 156–57
- University, 191–92

Code of Ethics for Teachers, 223, 243–44, 375–78

Coeducation, postwar, 72, 331
- Equal opportunities promoted by, 72
- Future of, 216–17
- Junior colleges observance of, 72–73, 76
- Prestige universities observance of, 72

College degree fetish, 189, 336

Committee for Examination of Occupation Reform Policy, 89–90. (*See also* Occupation reforms in education.)
- Criticism of postwar reforms by, 89–90
- Recommendations for revision by, 89–90

Communism, teaching of, 250–51
- Ministry of Education opposition to, 236

Comparative education, Ministry of Education study of, 265

Comprehensive high schools, 71
- Conflict between manual and mental workers bridged by, 71
- Rural vocational schools converted to, 71

Compulsory schooling, initial requirement of, 19
- Phased postwar expansion of, 70

Confucian college (*Shoheiko*) in feudal Japan, 13, 19

Confucianism in education, 5, 6, 16, 18, 25, 27–28
- Counter movements to, 18
- As fostered in Imperial Rescript on Education, 27–29
- Fukuzawa's attack on, 18
- Inadequacy of in facing modern problems, 14
- Lectures to commoners in, 14–15
- Return to, 25
- Scholars of, 14–15, 25
- Vestiges of, 8

Constitution, democratic, 64
- Provision for education in, 64
- Renunciation of war clause in, 83, 87

Correspondence education, 71, 293–95
- Assistance of media in, 293

Council on Language Teaching Development, 170

Council on Science and Industrial Education, 164

Counselors, 159, 176. (*See* Guidance in senior high school.)
- Homeroom teacher functioning as, 160

Course of studies, revision of 1958, 92
- Mandatory official nature of, 92
- Required morals course in, 92
- Uniform national curriculum resulting from, 93

Cram schools (*yobiko*), 161

Curriculum reform, contemporary
  At elementary level, 110–21
  Future projects in, 98, 111, 338–40
  At junior high level, 125–42
  At senior high level, 145–46, 161–71
  At university level, 195–96
Curriculum reform, initial postwar, 80–83
  Teachers and students consulted in, 81

Daimyo (feudal lord), 14–15
Decentralization of education, 65–66, 69
Democracy
  In contemporary schools, 331–32
  In modern Japan, 7–8, 175
  In prewar Japan, 19, 22–23, 30–31
Democratic education, 63, 81–83, 331–32
  Intermittent exposures of Japan to, 60
  Occupation commitments to, 59–60, 81–83
  And the U.S. Education Mission, 63
Democratic values, 7–8, 112
  Traditional vs. nontraditional attitudes in, 9–10
Department of Education (1871–85), 20
  Transfer of to Ministry of Education (1885 to present), 25
Dewey, John, 38, 63, 83
Diet, 64
Doctor's degree
  Prewar, 51
  Recent, 203
Dropouts, 175, 337

Earth Science Curriculum Project (ESCP). (*See* Science and technology as priority areas.)
Eaton, John, 21
Economic planning, 96
  Education's part in, 96
Educational affairs, public interest in, 331. (*See also* Parent Teachers Association.)
Educational exchange, 78, 169–70
  Early movement of, 17
  Postwar movement of, 169–70
Educational expenditures, 273–80
  Percentage of national income devoted to, 279
Educational ladder. (*See* Structure of the educational system.)
Educational museum (1877), 22
Educational opportunities
  In early Meiji, 19–20, 26
  In early occupation, 62–83
  Reforms toward greater equality of, 69–70
Educational reform, 3 major periods of, 338
Educational television by NHK, 289–98. (*See also* ETV program planning.)
  The Broadcast Law of 1950 and, 290
  Competition with commercial networks by, 290
  Extent of Government control of, 290
  Remote schools reached by, 289
  Requirement of nationwide coverage by, 289

Education Code (Ordinance) of 1872 (*Gakusei*), 19–20
Education Code (Ordinance) of 1879, 24
Education Codes of 1885, 25, 54. (*See also* Mori, Arinori.)
Education Committee of the Liberal-Democratic Party, 248, 260–61
  Policy control by, 260–61
Education in Japan, New York, 1873, 21
Education mama (*Kyoiku mama*), 124, 224
Education today, 103–340
  Effectiveness of, 337
  Essentialism in, 120, 334
  Nationalism in, 334. (*See also* Nationalist education *and* Patriotism lacking among youth.)
  Nonproblems of, 337
  Political indoctrination in, 114, 328–29
  Problems of, 324–27
  Recentralization of, 90–94
Education, universal, early commitment to 19–20
Elementary School Education Division, Ministry of Education, 261
Elementary schools, contemporary, 109–20
  Aims of, 351
  Automatic promotion in, 109
  Classroom cleaning by students in, 10
  Curriculum of, 110–20
  Daily schedule of, 110
  Student government in, 110
  Universal heterogeneous classes in, 109
Elementary schools, prewar, 40–42
  Aims as national schools, 40
  Class size of, 41
  Curriculum and teaching methods in, 41–42
  Establishment of, 40–41
  Teacher-pupil relationship in, 42
  Uniformity of, 42
Employment conditions of teachers, 160, 230–35
  Certification, 233–34
  Hiring procedures, 232–33
  Hours and overtime pay, 230–31
  Leave benefits, 231–32
  Retirement, 232
  Summertime responsibilities as required part of, 160, 231
Employment entrance examinations, 197
English in junior high school, 138–39
  Reading-translation method characteristic of, 138
English Language Exploratory Committee (ELEC), 169
English in senior high school, 168
  Current teaching methods in, 168–69
  New trends in teaching of, 169–71
  Required vocabulary in, 168
English-speaking society, 156
English teaching, inefficiency in, 139, 337
Equality of educational opportunity, 88, 62–83. (*See also* Educational opportunities.)
  As required in 1872 code (*Gakusei*), 19–20, 26
Essentialist education, 116, 119–20, 141, 334

ETV program planning, 290–93
  Comparison of U.S. and Japan in, 292
  Science resources used in, 291
  Teachers involved in, 290–91
ETV program utilization by school level, 296–97
Examination system ("examination hell"), 103, 108, 123, 138, 147, 156, 158, 161, 185–88, 324–25, 334–35
  As major problem in Japanese education, 297, 334–35
  As means of blocking change, 334
  Reforms in, 325, 335
Expenditures per pupil, 276–77
  Government's contribution to, 273–80
  Parents' contribution to, 276–77

Faculties of education, 79, 254–55
Feudal schools, 13–16
  As base for modernization, 16–17
  Curriculum of, 14, 16
  As developers of character, 16
  As education for leadership, 14–16
  As education for literacy, 14–16, 19
  As investment, 16–17
Films
  8mm. single concept, 298
  Prefectural film libraries, 298
Finance, 273–80
  Educational spending, 279
  Local Allocation Tax Grants, 273–76
  Municipalities' contributions to education, 276
  National contributions to education, 273–76
  Parents' contributions to, 276–77
  Prefectural contributions to, 276
Free study, 81
Free textbooks, 277
Froebel, Friedrich, 37–39
Fukuzawa, Yukichi, 18, 23, 53
Fundamental Law of Education, 64, 65, 345–47
  Democratic philosophy of, 65
  And the Imperial Rescript on Education, 65
  Reaction to, 65

Gakusei (Education Code of 1872), 19–20
GARIOA (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas), 78
General education at college level, 76-77, 195–96
  Course requirements in, 76
  Curriculum of, 46
  Girls' high schools, 45–46
  Opposition to, 76–77, 197
  Overspecialization challenged by, 76
Graduate Schools, 200–03
  Lack of student interest in, 201
  Proposed reorganization of, 202
  Status and support of, 200
  Teaching staff and students of, 202–03
Guidance in senior high school, 146, 171–73, 226

  As a control mechanism, 171, 176
  Counselors for, 172
  Obstacles to professional, 17

Hall, John W., v–vii, 33
Herbart, Johann, 26–27
Higher education in future, projected categories of, 181–82
  Comprehensive universities, 181
  Graduate schools, 181
  Junior colleges, 181
  Research institutes, 181
  Technical colleges (*kosen*), 181
Higher education prewar types, 47–56
  Higher schools, 47–49
  Normal schools, 54–56
  Technical colleges, 56
  Universities, 49–51
Higher education today, 179–217. (*See also* Universities, postwar; Universities, contemporary.)
  Hierarchy in, 179–80, 336
  Support of, 180–81, 327
Higher schools, prewar, 47–49
  Curriculum of, 47–48
  Method of teaching in, 48
  "Old school tie" relationship in, 49
  Student life in, 48–49
High school, senior, contemporary, 145–76
  Admission standards for, 161
  Curriculum of, 161–75
  Extracurricular activities in, 156–57
  Homerooms in, 83, 156, 186
  Pressures on students in, 156
  Prestige of academic stream in, 146
  Required units in, 161, 162
  Student attitudes in, 157
  Student behavior in, 155–60
  Student life in, 155–57, 158, 186
  Teachers' union of, 239
  Tuition in, 146
Hiratsuka, Masunori, 128, 266
Homeroom teacher, 125, 160, 225–26
  Counseling function of, 125, 225
  Home visitation by, 136

Ienaga, Saburo, 284
Image of the Ideal Japanese, 174, 367–70
  Statement of traditional morals, in 175
Imperial Rescript on Education, 28–29
  As center of school ritual, 28
  As contrasted with the Fundamental Law of Education, 65
  Nationalist philosophy fostered by, 28–29
Inservice training of teachers, 77, 78, 96, 242
  Government and JTU cooperation in sponsorship of, 242
Institute for Educational Leadership (IFEL), 78

Instructional media, 282–99
Instructional technology, 287–99
  Audiovisual education, 298–99
  Educational television, 289–98
  Radio education, 287–89
  Video-tape recorder in, 299
Integrated courses, 115
International Christian University (ICU), 208–09
  Bilingual curriculum of, 208
  General education program of, 208
  Intensive English program of, 208
  International composition of, 208
  Open-stack library at, 214
  University of California Exchange Abroad Program at, 208–09
Investment in education, 57, 323
Ishimoto, Shizue, 38
Iwakura Mission, 20–21

Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, 96
Japan Prize Contest, 297–98
  Japan Prize Circulating Library Collections as international repositories for, 298
  World competition of educational radio and ETV programs, 297
Japan Scholarship Foundation, 193–94
Japan's land and people, 3–10
  Changing American attitude toward, 87
  Social change in, 9–10
  Traditions and values of, 5–10
  Vertical pattern of society in, 8
Japan Teachers Union (JTU), 67, 235–52
  Aims of, 236
  Code of Ethics of, 243–44
  Opposition to government and occupation of, 236
  Organization of, 238–40
  Political bias of, 235–38
  Programs of, 240–43
  Refusal of Ministers of Education to negotiate with, 237, 244
  Socialist *vs.* communist leadership in, 236, 250
  Socialist orientation of, 236, 250
  Struggle tactics of, 90, 237, 240, 243–44
  Support by International Labor Organization (ILO) of, 237–38
Japanese Education Reform Council (JERC), 64, 65, 75
  Concerns of, 64
  Cooperation with U.S. Education Mission by, 63–64
Japanese national character, 9–10
  Survey of, 9–10
Japanese National Police Reserve (Self-Defense Forces), 87
Japanese University Accreditation Association (JUAA), 74–75
JTU—Ministry of Education rivalry, 90, 236–38, 240, 248–52
  Factors in, 239–40, 244–46
  As means of centralizing Ministry power, 240
Juku, 15. (*See also* Academies.)
Junior colleges, 75–76, 214–15, 181
  Compromise in establishment of, 75
  Initial occupation disapproval of, 76

  Prestige of, 75–76, 214
  Technical and subprofessional curriculum of, 215–16
  Terminal nature of, 216
  Tuition and fees of, 215
  Women's role in, 72–73, 215
Junior high school program, 123–41
  Aims of, 353
  Classroom of, 124
  Curriculum of, 125
  English teaching in, 138–39
  Examination pressure in, 124
  Japanese language in, 126
  Mathematics in, 128
  Morals instruction in, 133–38
  School excursions in, 139–40
  Science in, 129
  Science education centers for, 130–33
  Social studies in, 127
  Students of, 123
  Technical education in, 133
  Two-track system in, 123

Kaigo, Tokiomi, 112, 332
Kanagawa formula, 94
Kindergartens, contemporary, 103, 107–09
  Aims of, 107–09
  Proposed early entry to, 108–09
Kindergartens, prewar, 37–39
  Effect of nationalism on, 38–39
  Kindergarten Act of 1926, 37
Kishimoto, Hideo, 213–14
Korean War, 87, 88
  Economic recovery of Japan resulting from, 88
  Educational effects of, 87, 88
Kosen, 153–54, 198–99. (*See also* Technical colleges, contemporary.)
Kyoiku mama, 124. (*See also* Education mama.)

Laboratory schools, 30–31, 55, 79, 224. (*See also* Attached schools for student teaching.)
Labor Standards Act, 231
  And teachers' overtime pay, 231
Language laboratories, 168
Libraries, 305–06
  Adult reading groups' use of, 305–06
  Bookmobiles and, 306
  Local support of, 305
  Meager budgets for, 305
  Universities, 211–14
Lifelong education, 95
Local Affairs Division, Ministry of Education, 264–65
  And prefectural boards of education, 264
Local Allocation Tax Grant (formerly Local Finance Equalization Grant), 273
Local Public Service Law, 237
  Recognition of teachers as local public servants by, 237

Local schools of feudal period (*gogaku*), 14
Lower Secondary School Education Division, Ministry of Education, 263

MacArthur, Gen. Douglas, 59, 83, 87, 237
  "Message to the People of Japan" by, 83
  And the U.S. Education Mission, 63
Mathemaitcs, 165–66
  Courses of studies in senior high school, 165–66
  Special intensive track in senior high school, 165–66
"May Crisis" among university students, 187
Meiji emperor, 24
Meiji Restoration, 6, 7
  Modernization by leaders of, 6, 17, 24, 34
Middle schools, boys, 44, 45
  Curriculum of, 44, 45
  Military training in, 31–32, 45
Ministers of Education, postwar, 68–69, 75, 261
Ministry of Education, postwar to contemporary, 65–66, 68, 259–73, 335–36
  Comparison with U.S. Office of Education, 68, 279
  Composition of staff of, 98, 261, 279–80
  Control of education by, 266–70, 335
  Decentralization of, during occupation, 68
  Functions and structure of, 68
  Recentralization of, 97, 248–50, 269, 335
Miscellaneous schools, 105
Modernization of education, 16–23, 338
  Initial stage of, 17–23
  The liberal decade and, 30–31
  Occupation contributions to, 60–84
  Third major reform period in, 324, 338–40
Modernization of Japanese society, 16, 17, 18, 20–21, 34, 331
  Factors in, 17–18
  Stages of cultural diffusion in, 17
Montessori method, 38
Moonlighting by teachers, 224, 230, 255
Morals course, contemporary, 111–16, 363–65
  Disagreement over, 114–15, 328–29
  Inservice training course for, 93
  Nature and comments of elementary, 111–15
  Nature and comments of junior high, 133–38, 363–65
  Obstacles in teaching of, 114, 137
Morals course, postwar, 92
Morals course, prewar, 25, 33, 41, 44
  Nationalism inculcated by, 28, 29
  Priority in curriculum given to, 25
  And thought control, 31–32
  And western influence, 25, 34
Mori, Arinori, 21, 25–26, 54
Morito, Tatsuo, 339
Motoda, Eifu, 24, 25, 27
Multiversities for mass education at higher level, 184
Munakata, Seiya, 84, 241
Murray, David, 21, 22, 24

Music education, elementary level, 117–18
"My homeism," 10–11

Nadao, Hirokichi, 261
Nagai, Michio, 241, 335, 336
Nakane, Chie, 49
National defense consciousness, 116, 128, 141
National Diet library, 304. (*See also* Libraries.)
National Institute for Educational Research (NIER), 265–66
Nationalism and patriotism today, 158, 126–27, 137. (*See also* National defense consciousness.)
  High school students' attitudes towards, 158
  University students' attitudes towards, 315–20
Nationalist education, 24–35, 40–43, 45, 54–55
  Ordinances and rescripts concerning, 27, 40
  Success of, 34–35
National Personnel Authority (NPA), 227, 228, 241
  Cooperation by JTU with, 227, 241
  Teachers' salaries and bonuses determined by, 227, 241
National Public Service Law, 237, 241
  Denial of teachers' right to strike by, 237
National schools, 260
  Direct Government support of, 275
National universities, 179, 180, 182
  Agencies of governance in, 182–83
  Requirement of offering teacher education in all, 73, 78
National Working Youth Hall, 303–04
NHK media-assisted correspondence education, 293–95. (*See also* University of the Air.)
  Senior high school correspondence system available through, 293–95
  University courses and degrees available through, 295
  Working students provided educational opportunity through, 293
NHK school broadcast utilization, 296–98
NHK Science Classroom, 291
Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK) (Japan Broadcasting Corporation), 288–96
  Contract fee for ETV viewing collected by, 288–89
  Nature of organization of, 289–90
Normal schools, prewar, 54–56
  Authoritarian atmosphere in, 54
  Imperial ordinance on, 54
  Major types of, 55
  Tokyo Normal pioneer among, 23
  Tokyo Women's Normal School, 37, 53
Normal school type, 54, 255

Occupation of Japan
  Conservative reaction to, 88–90
  Documents fixing policy of, 59
  Factors favorable to, 61, 63, 64, 83–84
  Success of, 84
Occupation reforms in education, 59–84
  CIE officers' cooperation with Japanese educators to promote, 83–84
  CIE officers on prefectural teams cooperate with the Japanese, 84
  JERC as primary source of educational policy following the, 64
  Reform by directive; phase 1 of, 59–62

  Reform by guidance and assistance; phase 2 of, 62–84
  Reversal of by Committee for the Examination of Occupation Reform Policy, 89–90
  U.S. Education Mission sets guidelines for the, 64
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 153–54, 176, 216, 324–30
  Educational survey by, 324
  Government confrontation meeting with, 324–30
  Japan's official reply to, 325
  Major educational problems as identified by, 324–30
Oyabun-kobun (fictive parent-child relationship), 8, 9, 184

Paperfolding (*origami*) in kindergarten, 37, 38
Parent Teachers Association (PTA), 251
Part-time and correspondence education, 71, 293–95
  Discrimination by public and employers in hiring graduates of, 71
  Equality of educational opportunity promoted by, 71
Part-time high schools, 71
  Low status of, 71, 154–55
  School lunch provided at evening meal for, 154
Part-time jobs for students, 195
Patriotism lacking among youth, 158, 176
Peace treaty of San Francisco, 83
People's Rights Movement, 24–25
Pestalozzi, Johann, 22–24, 27
Pestalozzianism in Japan, 22–25
Physical education, contemporary elementary, 118, 119
  Swimming required of teachers and students in, 118
Population controls, school population reduced by, 109, 123, 145
Potsdam Declaration, 59
Pressures on teachers, 248–52
  Teachers' reaction to, 251–52
"Primer of Democracy," 82
Principals, 270–71
  Average age and experience of, 270
  Function of, 270
  Requirements for position of, 270
  Special allowances for, 92
Private academies in feudal period (*juku*), 15
Private high schools, difficulties of, 146–47
Private School Law, 69
  Autonomy provided by, 69
  Prefectural and national advisory councils under, 69
Private School Personnel Mutual Aid Association, 205
Private School Promotion Foundation, 205–06
  Government subsidies administered by, 205–06
Private universities, 204–09
  Governance of, 183
  Problems of, 204–05
  Special role of, 204
  Support of, 204
  Tuition and fees of, 193, 204, 207
Professors, university, 184, 185, 187, 202
  Prestige of, 225
  Rank in occupational hierarchy accorded, 226

Programed learning, 298–99
Progressive education, 30–31
  Early development of, 30–31
  Occupational encouragement of, 83
  Shift away from, 334
Promotional subsidies by Government to local boards, 273–75
Public attitudes towards education, 223, 331, 333
Public schools in early Meiji period
  Ex-Samurai as first modern teachers in, 223
  Transfer of private *terakoya* to, 20
Purge directive. (*See* Screening directive.)

Quantitative vs. qualitative development of education, need for, 95

Reading and writing courses, contemporary elementary, 115, 126
  Compulsory study of calligraphy in, 115
  Deemphasis on oral-aural approach in, 115
  Increase in characters to be learned in, 115, 126
  Romanization of national language deemphasized in, 115
Recentralization of Ministry power over schools, 97, 248–50, 269, 335
Recruitment of teachers, 253–54
  Competition of schools with business in the, 253–54
Reforms in occupation period. (*See* Occupation reforms in education.)
Reforms projected by Government in national educational system, 338–40
Reischauer, Edwin O., 53, 170, 324, 331
Research Bulletin of the National Institute for Educational Research, 265
Research, inadequate support for, 200, 330
Research institutes, plan of CCE for, 182, 210
Research and Statistics Division, Ministry of Education, 261
"Reverse course," first steps in, 250
Ritsumeikan University, 206–07
Romanization of Japanese written language, 43, 62–63, 115
"Ronin" (unemployed *Samurai*) in education, 186

Samurai, schools for, 13–17
School Board Law, 66
School broadcasting by educational radio, 288–89
  Functions of, 289
  Initial programs of, 288
  Postwar reeducation by, 289
  Radio Regulatory Commission for control of, 288
School calendar, 105–06
School costs, 273–79. (*See also* Local Allocation Tax Grant.)
  Municipalities' contributions towards, 276
  National Government's contributions towards, 273–76
  Parental contributions towards, 276, 277
  Prefectural government's contributions towards, 276
School Education Law, 65, 349–60
School excursions, 139–40
  Pros and cons regarding, 140
School finance, 273–79
  Basic source of funds for, 273
  Local Allocation Tax Grants for, 275
  Major problems regarding, 279
  Promotional subsidies of national to local governments, 275–76

  - Share of national, prefectural, and local governments responsibility for, 276
- Schools, contemporary, 107–217
  - Elementary, 109–20
  - Junior colleges, 75–76, 214–15, 181
  - Junior high, 123–41
  - Kindergarten, 107–09
  - Senior high, full-time, 145–51, 155–76
  - Senior high, part-time, 154–55
  - Technical colleges (*kosen*), 153–54
  - Universities, 179–212
- Schools, prewar, 37–57
  - Elementary, 40–43
  - Girls' high, 45–46
  - Higher, 47–49
  - Higher elementary, 41
  - Kindergarten, 37–39
  - Middle, 44
  - Normal schools, 54–57
  - Technical college, 56
  - Universities, 49–53
  - Women's colleges, 53–54
  - Youth, 43
- School year, 105–06
- Science education centers (now simply "Education Centers"), 130–33
  - Inservice teacher training in, 130
- Science Education Promotion Law, 164
  - Council on Science and Industrial Education and, 164
- Science and technology as priority areas, 95–97
  - In junior high school, 129–30
  - In senior high school, 162–66
- Scott, Marion, 23
- Screening, directive, 61
- Secondary schools, prewar, 30, 44–47
- Senior high schools, contemporary, 145–76
  - Academic vs. vocational stream in, 145–46
  - Comprehensive, 152
  - Financing and control of, 146–147
  - Full-time, 155
  - Girls in elite, 147
  - Guidance in, 171
  - Hierarchy of, 147
  - Part-time, 154–55
  - Student goals and attitudes in, 157–60
  - Student life in, 155–57
- Shinto directive in occupation, 61–62
- Shinto nationalism, 27–29
- Shinto values, 5
- *Skoheiko* (Confucian college), 13
- Single track structure, 19–20, 26, 70
  - Discrimination reduced by, 70
  - Dissatisfaction by business community with, 89–90
  - Early modification of, 26
  - Recent contemporary modification of, 90, 103, 175
- Six-three-three-four (6-3-3-4) ladder, 65

Social education, 299–309
  Citizens' Public Halls as community centers for, 300–02
  Decentralization of, 300
  Leadership training for, 307, 308
  Legal framework for, 300–01
  Machinery for, 300
  Purposes of, 301
  Trends in, 306–08
  Women's programs in, 304
  Youth in city as well as country served by, 302–03
  Youth Houses as important factor in, 302–03
Social education broadcasts by NHK, 295–96
  Farmer's programs featured in, 296
  Women's programs featured in, 296, 304
Social Education in a Rapidly Changing Society, 307
  Criticisms of social education in, 307
  Lifelong education recommended by government in, 95, 307
Social studies, contemporary elementary, 115–17
  Legends and myths of origin in, 116–17
  Systematic study versus problem-solving in, 115–16
Social studies, contemporary junior high, 126–28
Social studies, contemporary senior high, 166–68
  Disapproval of controversial issues in, 167
  Ethics-civics in place of morals in, 166
Social studies, postwar, 82, 83
Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP), Inc., 170–71
Soka Gakkai, 311
Special Education Division, Ministry of Education, 264
Special schools for the handicapped, 103
  Teacher training for, 253
Spirituality Development Center (Toyama), 167
  Experimental morals instruction in, 167
Story of the New Constitution, 82
Structure of the educational system, 103–04
Student government associations in high school, 156–57
  Radical protests by, 157
Student government associations in universities, 191, 311. (*See also* Zengakuren.)
Student-teaching, 253
Suekawa, Hiroshi, 3, 319
Suicide rate from exam failure, 45, 186
Superintendents, 67, 269–70
  Duties of, 269
  Prefectural compared to local, 269
  Relation of teacher-consultants and principals to, 269
Supervision, 266–73. (*See also* Principals, Superintendents, and Teacher-Consultants.)
  Board of education's role in, 268–69
  Minister of Education's rôle in, 265
  Principal's role in, 270
  Superintendent's role in, 269
Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP), 67. (*See also* MacArthur, Gen. Douglas.)

Tanaka, Fujimaro, 20–22, 24
Tape recorders, 298

Teacher certification, 233–34
Teacher-consultants, 271–73
  IFEL training of, 78
  Job description of, 272
  Requirements of, 68
  School inspectors replaced by, 68
  Supervision of teachers by, 272
Teacher education, contemporary, 252–55
Teacher education, postwar, 77–80
  Coeducation in, 79
  National universities' responsibility for, 78
  Private universities' involvement in, 79
  Scholarships to the United States for, 78
  Types of facilities in, 79
Teacher organizations. (*See* Japan Teachers Union.)
Teacher performance, 224–46
Teacher preparation, 252–53
  Student teaching required in, 253
Teacher reeducation, postwar, 252–55
  Cooperation of Ministry and occupation in, 77–80
  IFEL as effective program of, 72–78
Teachers
  Allowances of, 228–30
  Certification of, 233–34
  Civil servant status of (as local public officials), 226–27
  Conservative pressure on, 248–51
  Hiring procedures for, 232–33
  Japan Teachers Union's influence over, 252
  Leave benefits for, 231–32
  Occupational ranking of, 226
  Overtime work and overtime pay, 230–31
  Parents' defense of, to their children, 224
  Polarization of, 248–52
  Power of, 235-52
  Preparation of, 252–53
  Public attitude towards, 224–26, 333
  Radical pressure on, 250–51
  Retirement system for, 232
  Salaries of, 226–30
  Shortages of, 254
  Status of, 223–26, 255, 332
  Types of, 224
  Women, 234–35
Teachers' Efficiency Rating Plan, 91, 92, 244, 246. (*See also* Kanagawa formula.)
  Basis for rating in, 245
  Controversy over, 244–46
  Ministry of Education's efforts to control teachers through enforcing, 246
Teachers' Hour on ETV, 292
Teachers' view of teaching, 223–55
  Attitudes of education majors towards, 254
  As identified with labor, 223–24, 243–44
  As a sacred calling, 223
Teacher-training institutions, trend toward specialization of, 254–55
Technical College Establishment Standards, 198–99

Technical colleges, contemporary, 153–54, 198–99
  Goals of, 199
  Government and business support of, 153
  Junior college opposition to, 154
  Success of, 154
  Terminal character of, 154
Technical colleges, prewar, 56
  Subprofessional training in, 56
Tennoism, 33
Terakoya (feudal writing schools), 15–17, 20
Textbook Adoption Council, 284–85
Textbook authorization system of Ministry, 93, 282–86
  Court decisions on, 284
  Professor Ienaga's protest of, 284
  Public evaluation of, 285
Textbooks, contemporary, 282–85
  Annual exhibition of, 284–85
  Attitude of children towards, 282
  Conservatives' fear of communist influence over, 282
  Emphasis on, resulting from the pressures of the examination system, 297
  Free distribution of, 285
  Nationalization of, 286
  Publication of, 285
  Quality of, 286
  Voluntary self-censorship of, 285
Textbooks, prewar, 41
  Abolition of uniform national system of, 62
  Standard national series of, 41
Thought control, 31–35
  Special Thought Police as enforcers of, 31
Three C's, 10
Tokugawa (feudal) period, 5–6
  Confucian values of, 5–6
  Feudal schools as basis for modernization of, 13–17, 20, 34
Tokyo University (formerly Tokyo Imperial University), 26, 49–51, 179–80, 184–86, 193, 200, 372
  As apex of university hierarchy, 179
  Monopoly of civil service appointments by, 75
  Students' complaints aganst, 185
  Zengakuren violence against, 315
Tokyo Women's Normal School, 37, 53
Transition period from occupation to independence, 87–98
Tsuda College, 53
Tsukuba Research and Education Newtown, 209–11
  As a counter to campus violence, 211
  As a model for university reform, 209–11
  As an open university, 211
  Research plans for, 210
  University decentralization in, 209

UNESCO-NIER Regional Program for Educational Research in Asia, 265
United Nations University, 211
United States-Japan Security Treaty, 83
  Zengakuren factions united against, 313

Universities, contemporary, 73, 179–217
  Chair system in, 183–85
  Clubs in, 191–92
  Curriculum of, 196–97
  Diversification of, 181–82, 327
  Entrance examinations to. (*See* Examination system.)
  General education in, 195–96
  Hierarchy surviving among, 179–81, 324–25
  National universities' administration a model for, 182–83
  Opposition to teaching education in, 254
  Private institutions serve special role among, 180
  Problems of, 217
  Projected reform of, 181–82
  Proportion of relevant age group enrolled in, 179
  Public universities administration among, 183
  Rising demand for entrance to, 179
  Scholarships in, 193–94
  Science and technology in, 198
  Tuition and fees, 193
  University Standards Law, and, 183
Universities of education, 254–55
  Liberal arts and education universities (*Gakugei*) changing to, 254–55
Universities Normalization Law, 189, 318–19, 336
Universities, postwar, 73–77
  Accreditation association develops standards for, 74
  Chartering of, 74
  Consolidation of higher institutions to form one national university in each expansion of, 73
  General education required in, 76–77
  Prefecture, 73–74
Universities, prewar, 49–53
  Aim and curriculum of, 50
  Chair system in, 50
  Graduate schools in, 51
  Major emphasis of, 50
  Private universities and, 52–53
  Rank order of, 51
  Teaching methods in, 50
University of the Air, 274
University Chartering Committee, 74
University professors, 184–88
  Attitudes of, 184, 187, 188, 317–18. (*See also* Chair system in universities.)
University students, 188–95 (*See also* Student government associations in universities.)
  Guidance and welfare of, 190–91
  Ministry of Education and, 189
  Motivation of, 189–90
  Part-time employment of, 195
  Status of, 188–89
  Student life of, 191–93
Upper Secondary School Education Division, Ministry of Education, 264
U.S. Education Mission, 62, 63, 73–74, 76, 80–81
U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy, 59–60

Vacation periods, 106
Values. (*See* Morals course, prewar; Morals course, postwar; *and* Morals course, contemporary.)
Value system, v, 5–10
  Contemporary values in, 9–10
  Democratic values in, 7–10
  Political differences and, 325
  Traditional values in, 5–7, 10
Vocational education, 46, 80, 176
  Business leaders' recommendations regarding, 96
  Introduction at all school levels of, 80
  Movement toward new kind of high school specializing in, 173
  Traditional bias against, 46, 80, 336–37
  U.S. Education Mission advocates, 80
Vocational high schools, 80, 96, 145, 152–53
  Terminal character of, 152

War devastations, 59
Wastage, 337. (*See also* Dropouts.)
Western scholars, 7, 18
Western studies, 14, 16, 29, 34
White Paper on Private Schools, 204
White Paper on Social Education, 305
Wilson, Woodrow, 7
Women, discrimination in education of, 16
Women's colleges, 53–54
  Private status of, 53
  Specialization in, 53
Women's social education programs, 295, 304–05. (*See also* Social education.)
Women teachers, 234–35
  Discrimination against in hiring and firing of, 235
  Maternity leave for, 235
  Opportunity for advancement of, 234
  Percentage of in teaching corps, 234
  Salaries and working conditions of 235, 332
World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), 245–46
Writing schools in feudal period (*terakoya*), 15–17, 20

Yamaguchi diary case, teaching Soviet propaganda in, 250
Yoshioka, Yayoi, 53
Youth centers, 303
Youth classes, 302–03
Youth hostels, 304
Youth houses, 303
Youth schools, prewar, 43
  Nationalist objectives of, 43
  Neglect of academic education in, 43
  Relation to war effort of, 43

Zengakuren (All Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations), 311
  Bargaining sessions forced by, 315, 318
  Effects of democratic education on, 320
  Factional divisions of, 311–13
  Government reactions to, 318–19
  Issues of, 314–15, 316–17, 318

Nature of protests by, 312–13, 316, 320
Public reactions to, 316–17
Relations with China of, 313–14, 320
Relations with the emperor of, 312
Relations with the Government of, 312
Relations with the Japan Communist Party (JCP) of, 311, 312, 313
Relations with the occupation of, 312
University reactions to, 317–18
University strikes fomented by, 315
Violent tactics of, 312–15, 319, 320

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